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THE
PARLIAMENTARY
OR
CONSTITUTIONAL
History of England;
BEING A
FAITHFUL ACCOUNT
Of all the
Most remarkable TRANSACTIONS
In PARLIAMENT,
From the earliest TIMES,
TO THE
Restoration of King CHARLES II.

COLLECTED
From the RECORDS, the JOURNALS of both HOUSES, original MANUSCRIPTS, scarce SPEECHES, and TRACTS; all compared with the several Contemporary Writers, and connected, throughout, with the History of the Times.

By SEVERAL HANDS.

—*Juvat integros accedere Fontes.*

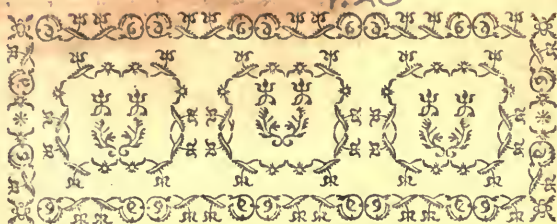
VOL. XX.

From the Marching of the Scots Army into England, under the Command of King Charles the Second, in August, 1651, to the Meeting of Cromwell's third Parliament, in September, 1656.

L O N D O N,

Printed, and sold by WILLIAM SANDBY, against *St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet-street.* MDCCLVII.

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T H E

Parliamentary History

O F

E N G L A N D.

OUR last Accounts left the *English* and *Scots* Armies within a few Days March of each other. Their further Progress will be best described by the following Series of original Letters to the Speaker, read in Parliament, which we shall give in their proper Order.

Inter-regnum.
1651.

August.

On the 15th of *August* a Letter from Major-General *Harrison*, with several intercepted Letters inclosed, from the Duke of *Hamilton*, Lord *Wentworth*, and the Earl of *Lauderdale*, was read as follows : ^a

A Letter to the Speaker, from Major-General *Harrison*, inclosing an intercepted Letter

VOL. XX.

A

Ripon,

^a All these Letters were printed by Order of the House, at this Time, and are in our *Collections*. That from *Harrison* (inclosing the others) has been compared with the Original, now in the Possession of the Rev. Dr. *Grey*, Rector of *Houghton-Conquest*, in *Bedfordshire* : A Gentleman to whom the Compilers of this Work are much obliged for the Loan of several MSS. &c. which have greatly contributed to the Improvement of this Work.

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Inter-regnum.
1651.
August.

Ripon, 11th Day of the 6th Month,
1651, about Noon.

S I R,

I Shall spare giving any large Account of our Affairs, having lately given the Council that Trouble; whereof I believe you will not be ignorant, or of so much as is worthy the Parliament's Knowledge.

This Morning I received an Express from Major-General *Lambert*, dated the 9th, about Twelve at Noon, within ten Miles of *Penrith*, and several Letters inclosed, which he had taken, and therewith six of the Enemy convoying them, whereof two were *Lairds*. He desired my Dispatch of these Letters to my Lord-General *Cromwell*, which accordingly I have done: But considering that they came from the Duke of *Hamilton*, Lord *Lauderdale*, and Lord *Wentworth*; and that the Esteem they have of the Presbyterian Party, (whom *Hamilton* calls Rogues, and *Lauderdale* thinks they are very well rid of) and the Pleasure they take in their present pure Cavalierish Composition, may help to satisfy those displeased Friends, I thought it my Duty to transmit you Copies of them, till his Excellency can send the Originals, I being so much nearer than he is.

I am confident the Duke speaks their very Heart, not knowing the Danger of the Conveyance as the other did, who writ accordingly: And we expect, Day by Day, the Lord will more open their Eyes to see the Snare whereunto himself in Judgment hath led them: So that the Terrors of the Lord will prove a forer Enemy to them than we.

My Lord *Howard*'s Son commanded a Troop at *Carlisle*, whom 'ere this I had secured, but that he is his Son. He took off with him but 12 of his Troop, (as the Major-General and the Governor of *Carlisle* inform me) which would have been cashiered, had we had Opportunity, and they staid. The Riddance of such are no
Loss

‘ Loss to us, nor their Accession Strength to them.
 ‘ The Major-General will be this Night, I hope,
 ‘ in their Rear, and I am hastening to get the Van,
 ‘ and if possible to recover the Middle Parts of
 ‘ *Lancashire* before; for which Purpose, the Lord
 ‘ pleasing, I design this Night to be at *Skipton*, and
 ‘ so towards *Preston* or *Manchester*, as Providence
 ‘ shall direct.

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 August.

‘ If the Enemy keep constant Motion he might
 ‘ be near *Preston* this Night, as he lay at *Kendal* on
 ‘ *Saturday*, which is but about 35 Miles distant,
 ‘ and so may put us a little to it to reach him. I
 ‘ know the Major-General will not let their Rear
 ‘ go off quietly, whereby he may easily clog their
 ‘ March.

‘ My Lord-General is in *Northumberland*, and
 ‘ Sir *Arthur Haselrigge* writes me he will be at
 ‘ *Hexham* on *Tuesday*; I believe sooner, knowing
 ‘ he will make Haste.

‘ The Lord prepare all our Hearts for the great
 ‘ Mercy he will shortly shew us, (whereof, thro’
 ‘ his Grace, we do not in the least doubt) and help
 ‘ us to cry to him for Strength against his and our
 ‘ inward Enemies, whilst he strengthens us against
 ‘ his and our outward Enemies. Pardon my Rude-
 ‘ ness; I am upon my March, and in some Haste
 ‘ subscribe myself

Your most humble Servant,

T. HARRISON.

The intercepted Letters mentioned in the fore-
 going. And first,

A LETTER from the Duke of Hamilton to
 Mr. William Crofts:

Dear WILL. Pentrich, August 8, 1651.

THE last Thing I did was to drink your Health
 with Lord Thomas, Dan. O’Neal, and Lau-
 derdale, who are now all laughing at the Ridicu-
 lousness of our Condition. We have quitted Scot-
 land, being scarce able to maintain it; and yet we

From the Duke
 of Hamilton,

Inter-regnum.
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August.

grasp at all, and nothing but all will satisfy us, or to lose all. I confess I cannot tell you whether our Hopes or Fears are greatest; but we have one stout Argument, Despair; for we must now either stoutly fight or die. All the Rogues have left us, I shall not say whether for Fear or Disloyalty; but all now with his Majesty are such as will not dispute his Commands. Lord Thomas tells me he will explain all this to you; so I tell you nothing but what you knew before, that I am

Yours,

HAMILTON.

From Lord *Wentworth*^b to the same.

From the Leaguer by *Penrith*,

My dear Cousin,

August 8, 1651.

Another from

Lord *Wentworth*,

I Wrote to you a long Letter by Mr. Sandys, by whom I also sent you an Order from the King for the Payment of 500l. Sterling to me, out of the Money you got for his Majesty in Poland. I did desire you, in that Letter, in the first Place to pay yourself out of it, and then to send me the rest with the best Speed and Conveniency you could. I should now, by this, desire you to send to my Lady Lauderdale 100l. Sterl. of that Money into Holland, or to any other Place she shall desire it in. I have borrowed the Money here of her Lord, and this is one Way he hath chosen to supply his Wife with such a Sum of Money. Mon cher Cousin, I am confident you will be careful in this Matter, as I shall be in any Thing that concerns you. Concerning your own Business, I wrote you at large in my last, and so have no more to say for the present.

For the public News; this is all: By God's Grace we are come as far as *Penrith*, in Cumberland, with a good Army of 14 or 15,000 Foot, and about 6000 Horse, all absolutely at the King's Command, as much as any Army that ever I saw under the Command of his Father. We are marching forward, and this Morning Mr. Howard, whom the King

^b Father's Son to the Earl of *Cherland*.

King knighted, is come over to him with his whole Troop. We have very good Hopes that others will follow. I am now in an Army where our Friends are together, and where you are many Times remembered. The Times are well changed since this Time twelve Months.

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Mon cher Cousin,

I am yours,

THO. WENTWORTH.

From the Earl of Lauderdale to the Lord Balcarras.

Charlton, near Penrith,

My dear Lord,

Aug. 8, 1651.

I Cannot neglect any Occasion to let you know his Majesty and his Army are well, God be praised. And two from the Earl of Lau- Never Men were more hearty for all their Toil; and, derdale. seriously, you would not know this Army. A natural Purge is wholesome, and I hope ours is such, when all the ill Humours are gone. Trust me we have not taken the Worth of Six-pence, and the Country is kind to us; we might have Men enough if we could get Arms; some we get. This poor Place hath given in a Day's Bread and Cheese, which is our first Supply in England. We have a strong Party advanced to Kendal for more Provisions, whither we are to march To-morrow, God willing. More I would write, but it is probable my Friends shall not be the first that shall see this; for it goes a Way I am not sure of, and through an Enemy's Quarters a long Way.

I shall intreat you to haste the inclosed to Holland by the first safe Occasion; and if my Lord Inchiquin come and bring any Bill from my Wife for 100l. payable upon Sight, let him not want it; this is Justice. I have said this, more I would say of my private Business, but I have no Time to write, and, as I said, the Conveyance is dangerous: I shall only acquaint you that this Morning the Lord Howard of Eskrick's Son is come in to his Majesty, and with

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Inter-regnum.

1651.

August.

him his whole Troop; his Majesty received him graciously, and immediately did knight him. He is the first, but I have Reason to believe he shall not be the last, ere long, that shall return to his Duty.

Yesterday we had a small Party, commanded by Capt. Inglis, of the Regiment that was Riccarton's, who discovered about 20 of the Enemy; he sent a Corporal and six Horse, who drove them before them; then he advanced himself alone, and only two with him; they overtook them at a Gate which the Enemy were making fast, so the Enemy made Haste off, but Inglis received a Shot in his Leg, which I hope is nothing: Upon this, and the Intelligence that 1000 Horse of the Enemy were near, the Right Wing of our Horse advanced very fast half Way to Apulby; but finding it impossible to overtake them, seeing they were then the Length of Brough, we retired, having only the Advantage to get us hot Coats; and mine was as hot as ever in my Life.

This Day, to refresh our Men, we rest; To-morrow we march (God willing) towards Kendal.

When I know of a good Occasion I shall write again. I shall intreat you to send to Holland, with this inclosed, a Copy of the King's Declaration, which I sent you. I cannot send it herewith, for taking too much Room. My Service to all Friends, especially my dear Cummer, and she that is your Wife and mine; and make my Excuse that I wrote not to any of them, it being impossible, for the King is in Bed, and I lie this Night in his Chamber; so I have Time to say no more, but farewell. God send us a good Meeting.

Yours,

LAUDERDALE.

P. S. Let the Justice-Clerk direct this, and all that go to my Wife into Holland, to Sir Alexander Home, Master-Housholder to the Princess Royal, at her Highness's Court at the Hague.

We have not got a Man of the Galloway or Nithsdale Foot, so your Committee must be careful for levying them. His Majesty hath commanded them

them not to follow him. You are slow in writing; we have not heard from you since we parted.

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From the Earl of Lauderdale to his Lady.

My dear Heart, Charlton, Aug. 8, 1651.

I Wrote unto you, at length, by Sir William Bellen-
lenden, and gave you Notice of 100l. Sterling,
which is sent over to you by Bill. I was ashamed it
was so little, but I could not help it. I have now
made a Bargain with a Noble Friend of mine, my
Lord Wentworth, for another 100l. Sterling, to be
paid to you by Mr. William Crofts, who was his
Majesty's Ambassador in Poland. I am sure Mr.
Crofts hath all the King's Money that he received
there, at least the far greatest Part of it, in his own
Hands; and I am certain the King hath given a
Warrant to pay more Money to my Lord Wentworth,
therefore, if this Letter come safe, I do not at all
doubt of the Payment of the Money to you. My
greatest Doubt is the safe conveying this Letter to
you; but I am resolved to adventure it, and some
others to this Purpose, many Ways, lest it come not.
Your Cousin Shenbury will inform you for certain
where Mr. Crofts is, and there you are to advertise
him where you will have the Money paid, and he
will pay it as soon as my Lord Wentworth's Letter
comes to his Hands. This inclosed Writ, directed
to Mr. Crofts, you are to be careful that it come to
his Hands. I have written to my Lord Balcarras to
pay punctually to my Lord Inchiquin the 100l. Ster-
ling, upon Sight of your Order, that you have recei-
ved; as also, if his Credit can reach so far, to send
you another 100l. This is all that a ruined, plunder-
ed Man, without an Estate, can do. If I were able
to provide for you better, truly I should do it; and,
as I write often, it is my greatest Trouble you should
have been so ill provided.

As for News, I can tell you little:

His Majesty is thus far advanced into England,
with a very good Army, able, by the Blessing of God,
to do his Business: They are, I dare say, near double
the

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the Number of those that the King of Sweden enter'd Germany with, if they be not more. As soon as we came into England his Majesty was, by an Englishman, (whom he made King at Arms) proclaimed King of England, at the Head of the Army, with great Acclamations of the Army, and shooting off all the Cannon of the Army. Then Yesterday he was proclaimed here in Penrith, and will be in all the Market-Towns where we march. Never was an Army so regular as we have been since we came into England; I dare say we have not taken the Worth of Six-Pence: And whatever you hear of our Misfortunes in Fife, or whatever our Enemy print or write, trust me, this is the best Scots Army that ever I saw, and I hope shall prove best. All those that were unwilling to hazard all in this Cause with their King, most of them have, upon a specious Pretence, left us. This is a natural Purge, and will do us much Good. Nothing of Action yet done, except the driving of some small Parties, with which I will not trouble you. One Thing I cannot forget; this Day my Lord Howard of Eskrick's Son came in to us from the Enemy, with his whole Troop. His Majesty received him graciously, and immediately knighted him. He is the first, but I am confident a few Days will shew us more that will return to their Duty. This Letter is to go To-night, and a great Way through the Enemy's Quarters; it is Odds of Lay it ever come to you, I shall therefore say no more.

Remember my Service to your Noble Cousin Shenbury. I am ashamed to write to him till I can tell him some extraordinary good News, which I hope shall, by the Grace of God, be shortly. He may be assured none alive is more his Servant, than your own kindest

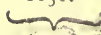
LAUDERDALE.

P. S. My Blessing to Mary, and my Service to all other Friends. I have no Time to write; neither is it pleasant, when it is likely others may see my Letters before my Friend. I am ashamed to write to Mr. Crofts myself, seeing it is when Money is desired at the same Time to be paid to you.

Of

Of ENGLAND. 9

Of Cromwell's Motions you will hear better from Scotland. I have also written to my Lord Balcarras to send you a Copy of the King's Declaration to, the Kingdom of England. I cannot get it sent herewith.

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Aug. 16. A Letter from the Governor of Oxford, to the Council of State, was read :

Right Honourable,

August 15, 1651.

HAVING, upon this Invasion of the *Scots*, made my Application to the Vice-Chancellor, to know what Assistance I might expect in Case of Danger, I was chearfully assured of 120 Horſe, with able, and I believe well-affect-
ed, Riders, which I have presumed to head, and exercise two ſeveral Days, being deſired by them to be their Leader; promiſing the Officers, for the preſent, to procure Commiſſions, which I humbly implore your Honours ſpeedily to diſpatch; they being many Gentlemen of Quality, and likely to coſt you little more than Words; and I doubt not but, by my Endeavours, to procure a Regiment of Volunteers, all faithful Men, or a Number proportionable in Horſe and Dragoons, which will be a very great Security to us, a Terror to the Malignants, an Encouragement to our Friends, and a conſiderable Advantage to the Commonwealth. I humbly take my Leave, and remain

Your humble and faithful Servant,

WILL. DRAPER.

Another Letter to the ſame, from the Commiſſioners of the Militia for the County of *Leiceſter*:

Right Honourable, Leiceſter, Aug. 13, 1651..

WE received your Lordſhip's Letter of the 11th Inſtant by this Bearer, being met here this Day upon ſome Intelligence of the *Scots* March into *England*; whereupon, the laſt Lord's Day, we ſent through this County to invite all
well-

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‘ well-affected Persons to come in hither to us, with
 ‘ their Horses and Arms, and have a full and free
 ‘ Appearance here this Day; the People generally
 ‘ shewing themselves unanimous, and ready to join
 ‘ against the common Enemy. We have also gi-
 ‘ ven Order to draw all our listed Horse together,
 ‘ that they may be ready to execute your Lord-
 ‘ ship’s Directions. We shall use all possible Di-
 ‘ ligence in this important Service, upon all Occa-
 ‘ sions, and shall thoroughly endeavour to unite
 ‘ the whole County in the common Defence there-
 ‘ of, and to prevent and suppress the Attempts and
 ‘ Enterprizes of all that would disturb it; and, to
 ‘ that End, shall diligently observe and put in Exe-
 ‘ cution your Directions on that Behalf, humbly
 ‘ desiring your Lordship’s Approbation of what we
 ‘ have already done in the present Service, where-
 ‘ in we apprehended so great Necessity.’

Aug. 18. Letters from Major-General *Harrison*, Lord *Grey*^c, and others, address’d to Serjeant *Bradshaw*, Lord-President of the Council of State, were read.

Bolton, [*in Lancashire*] 15th Day
 of the 6th Month, 1651, near
 Two in the Morning.

My Lord,

‘ I Receiv’d yours of the 11th Inst. by Mr. *Paine*,
 ‘ and one before by your other Messenger; I
 ‘ must crave your Pardon that I have not written
 ‘ to you since. I was at *Ripon*, expecting a Con-
 ‘ junction with Major-General *Lambert*, and I for-
 ‘ bore these two Days, till I might have something
 ‘ considerable to signify. Yesterday we joined on
 ‘ *Haste-Moor*, and are now about 6000 Horse in
 ‘ the Van of the Enemy. The Enemy made some
 ‘ Halt on *Elbill-Moor*, four Miles on this Side
 ‘ *Lancaster*, whereby we were somewhat amazed,
 ‘ thinking they might be on Councils for a timely
 ‘ Retreat to their own Country; but this Day,
 ‘ about Noon, we received Understanding of their
 ‘ Ad-

‘ Heir Apparent to the Earl of *Stamford*, and Member for the
 Town of *Leicester*.

‘ Advance for *Preston*, and soon after of their
 ‘ March through a Town on this Side; in-Design,
 ‘ probably, to get before us to the Pass at *War-*
 ‘ *rington*, where we have about 3000 Foot (wait-
 ‘ ing Conjunction with us) from *Cheshire* and *Staf-*
 ‘ *fordshire*. Thereupon we marched to this Place,
 ‘ and To-morrow Morning, by Day-light, shall
 ‘ be setting forth for *Warrington*, the Lord willing,
 ‘ whereabouts the Country being more open and
 ‘ champainous, after the Accession of these Foot,
 ‘ we trust we shall be used by our God to bring it
 ‘ to a speedy and glorious Issue.

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‘ Their King, we hear, is discontented and cast
 ‘ down, that his Subjects, as he still calls them,
 ‘ come in no faster to him; his Expectations being
 ‘ great therein, though answered inconsiderably
 ‘ either as to Persons or Numbers, many more
 ‘ of their old Soldiers running away from them
 ‘ daily than we can understand of any Access to
 ‘ them. There is a Rumour of their Intendment
 ‘ for the landing of some Troops in *North-Wales*
 ‘ from the Isle of *Man*; but of that no Certainty;
 ‘ though it may be a further Argument to you that
 ‘ the Isle of *Man* should be well guarded.

‘ *Cheshire* hath been very forward in their Levies
 ‘ upon this Emergency, most of the Foot above-
 ‘ mentioned being from thence. Six hundred of
 ‘ Col. *Jennings*’s Horse are come to *Manchester*,
 ‘ whom I have sent to, that they may meet us at
 ‘ *Warrington*.

‘ There are several Things I should have touch-
 ‘ ed to your Lordship, but I hope you shall receive
 ‘ a further Account from *Warrington*, in the Even-
 ‘ ing. I commend your weighty Affairs to the
 ‘ Grace of an approved good Lord, in whom we
 ‘ rest absolutely assured of a wonderful and glorious
 ‘ Issue of the Work in Hand; remaining,

My Lord,

Your most faithful Servant to my Power,

T. HARRISON.

Ho-

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Honoured Sir, Newcastle, Aug. 14, 1651.

‘ **O**N *Tuesday* last his Excellency crossed the
 ‘ *Tyne*, at *Newburn*, with eight Regiments
 ‘ of Foot, and two Regiments of *Hacker’s* and
 ‘ *Thomlinson’s* Horse, some eight Guns, &c. and
 ‘ pitched their Tents on *Ryton-Haugh*, just by the
 ‘ Water-Side, and my Lord quartered at *Stella-*
 ‘ *House*, hard by the Camp. The Soldiers were
 ‘ much tired out by so fast a March, and wanting
 ‘ Provisions, I sent to them from this Town, by our
 ‘ Governor’s Order, Bread, Cheese, Biscuit, and
 ‘ Beer. Yesterday the Mayor and Magistrates of
 ‘ this Town went to visit my Lord-General at
 ‘ *Stella*; they carried up good Store of Provisions
 ‘ for the Officers and Soldiers, and freely bestowed
 ‘ all upon them that this Town could afford in Pro-
 ‘ vision. The Soldiers were very quiet, not one
 ‘ loud Word in the whole Camp, nor an Oath;
 ‘ but carry wonderful fair in all their March, and
 ‘ not the least Abuse offered by them to the Coun-
 ‘ try.

‘ This Morning my Lord and the whole Army
 ‘ marched from *Ryton* towards *Branspeth*, betimes;
 ‘ and it is said my Lord-General quarters this Night
 ‘ at *Branspeth*. Col. *Lilburne*, with 1000 Horse,
 ‘ marched over *Newburn* on *Tuesday* betimes, to
 ‘ join with Major-General *Lambert* and Major-
 ‘ General *Harrison*; who, we hear, were to join
 ‘ about *Skipton* two Days since. I believe the *Scots*
 ‘ Army is about *Kirby-Lonsdale*, and think that our
 ‘ Forces are gotten Southward before the Enemy
 ‘ by this Time.

Your very humble Servant,

T. E.

My Lord, Warrington, Aug. 15, 1651.

‘ **I** Have received both your Lordship’s, &c. As
 ‘ to your first, I thought I could not better an-
 ‘ swer it than by Action, wherein I was so much
 ‘ engaged, that indeed I had not Leisure otherwise
 ‘ to do it. I had only Time to acquaint the Coun-
 ‘ cil

‘ cil of State, that I had got a Party ready to march
 ‘ to a Conjunction with Major-General *Harrison*,
 ‘ which I have done, through the Lord’s Goodness,
 ‘ this Day, with betwixt 6 and 700 Horse and Dra-
 ‘ goons, well arm’d at this Place. Our Design,
 ‘ for the present, is, having here some 8000 Horse,
 ‘ 1000 Dragoons, and about 3000 Foot, to main-
 ‘ tain this Pass at *Warrington* till the General come
 ‘ up with his Infantry, who is expected here with-
 ‘ in some three or four Days, these Counties be-
 ‘ ing chiefly for Foot Service; and, in the mean
 ‘ Time, the Counties from all Hands are drawing
 ‘ up to us.

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‘ The Enemy lies betwixt *Wigan* and *Preston*,
 ‘ being in a forlorn and wretched Condition, ra-
 ‘ ther decreasing than at all increasing. A Letter,
 ‘ lately intercepted from one of the chiefeft in their
 ‘ Army, acknowledges very much Desperation.

My Lord,

Your faithful humble Servant,

H. D.

*Aug. 17, 1651, Two o’Clock
 in the Afternoon.*

My Lord,

‘ **L**AST Night I received an Express from
 ‘ our Commissioners in *Leicestershire*, of that
 ‘ County’s unanimous Willingness to engage against
 ‘ the Enemy, and that the only Difficulty they meet
 ‘ with is to provide Horses for their Men, which
 ‘ will hasten me hither To-morrow, according to
 ‘ my last; not doubting, by God’s Blessing, but
 ‘ to give your Lordship a good Account of our Pro-
 ‘ ceedings there, and in *Rutland*, which shall be
 ‘ the Endeavours of,

Your Lordship’s most affectionate

and humble Servant,

THO. GREY.

My

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August.

*At the Camp near Warrington-Bridge,
the 16th Day of the 6th Month,
about Eleven in the Morning.*

My Lord,

‘ **H**AVING join’d with Major-General *Lambert*,
‘ about Twelve at Noon, on the 13th Inst.
‘ on *Hafle-Moor*, within seven Miles of *Preston*;
‘ the Enemy, according to our best Intelligence,
‘ lying then on *Elhill Moor*, four Miles on this Side
‘ *Lancaster*, and that Evening march’d to *Harworth-*
‘ *Moor*, within eight Miles of *Preston*, and Yester-
‘ day through *Preston* towards *Wigan*; designing,
‘ as we conceive, to get up to *Warrington-Bridge*
‘ before us; and Yesterday receiving a sudden Ac-
‘ count of their marching through the Town, we
‘ cross’d the Country, and about One of the Clock
‘ this Morning reach’d *Bolton*; and, after some
‘ short Stay for refreshing our Men, we march’d
‘ away for *Warrington*, where we are now, in Con-
‘ junction with about 4000 Foot and Dragoons,
‘ rais’d in *Cheshire* and *Staffordshire*.

‘ We are improving the little Time we have got
‘ before them here, to the spoiling the Fords and
‘ Passes on the River, especially between us and
‘ *Manchester*; leaving those only open to them
‘ where, if they attempt a Passage, we may be most
‘ considerable to make Opposition; and, if the Lord
‘ will, engage them. Wherein we wait his Plea-
‘ sure and Providence concerning us, not question-
‘ ing but, if we be clearly call’d to give them Battle,
‘ or if they seek us out and force us to it, (as in
‘ Reason it seems to be much their Interest) before
‘ my Lord-General comes up with the Foot and
‘ Train, which is by this Time about *Barnard-*
‘ *Castle*, we shall find our Hearts filled with a hea-
‘ venly Power from the Lord, and see his antient
‘ Arm lifted up, as in former Times, against his
‘ Enemies. I am

Your most humble Servant,

T. HARRISON.

P. S. ‘ We expect this Day they will attempt
‘ to force their Passage at some of the narrowest
‘ Passes,

‘ Passes, where they apprehend our Resistance least
 ‘ considerable. We are appointing a Council to
 ‘ consider whether we should not withdraw, tho’
 ‘ there be a Spirit given generally to press to engage
 ‘ them, if the Lord should vouchsafe an open Field
 ‘ for it.’

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Besides all the foregoing Letters, the Parliament received Advice from *Chepstow*, that, at a Rendezvous of their Forces in that Neighbourhood, there appeared 6000 Horse and Foot, who had secured such Gentlemen of that Country as they suspected, and seized most of the Horses in *Monmouthshire*: Also from *Bristol*, That that City was raising a Troop of Horse; and that the Governor had ordered all Strangers to depart thence in twelve Hours, and the Innkeepers to bring in, every Night, an Account of their Guests.

Aug. 19. Another Letter from Major-General *Harrison*, to the President of the Council of State, was read.

*Upon the March from Knotsford towards
 Congleton, Aug. 17, 1651, about*

S I R, Nine of the Clock.

‘ **Y**esterday, the 16th, the Enemy came on
 ‘ with their whole Army, and press’d to pass
 ‘ at the Bridge, and Fort near it, which we had
 ‘ broken down and spoil’d as well as we could in
 ‘ so short a Time. A Company of our Foot were
 ‘ drawn down to the Barricade of the Bridge, who
 ‘ behaved themselves gallantly, and gave the En-
 ‘ my Opposition, till we saw Cause to draw them
 ‘ off, securing their Retreat by Parties of Horse;
 ‘ which we did, because we were unwilling to en-
 ‘ gage the whole Army, where our Horse could
 ‘ not come to make Service thro’ the Inclosures:
 ‘ The Enemy thereupon hasten’d over their whole
 ‘ Army, and their King in the Van, if not Forlorne,
 ‘ which was his own Life Guard, as some Prison-
 ‘ ers told us since; and press’d hard upon our Rear,
 ‘ where-

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‘ whereof Col. *Rich* had the Guard, who wheel’d
‘ off Parties, and charged them thrice as they
‘ came on, and the Lord every Time caus’d those
‘ of the Enemy, that were so forward, to fly before
‘ us.

‘ We kill’d the Officer that commanded one of
‘ their Parties, and two or three Troopers; and
‘ some Countrymen since bring us in Word that
‘ 28 of theirs were slain in the several Skirmishes,
‘ and but four of ours that I can hear of, there,
‘ and at the Bridge.

‘ As they fell on they cried, *Oh you Rogues, we*
‘ *will be with you before your Cromwell comes;*
‘ which made us think they would press to engage
‘ us with all Speed.

‘ We are drawing up at *Knotsford Moor* to wait
‘ them, though we hear since, that they marched a
‘ good Part of the Night on the *London Road*.

Your faithful Servant,

THO. HARRISON.

Aug. 20. This Day a Letter from Major-General
Harrison, to the Speaker, was read.

S I R,

Leeke, Aug. 18, 1651.

‘ **T**HIS Night we quartered with our Forces
‘ at *Leeke*, in *Staffordshire*, intending for
‘ *Cheadle*, towards *Bagot’s-Bromley* To-morrow.
‘ The Enemy seems to be much discouraged by the
‘ seasonable Preparation of Forces the Parliament
‘ is making thereabouts; by the Country’s forbear-
‘ ing to come in to them as they expected; and,
‘ lastly, by the Inconsiderableness of the Earl of
‘ *Derby’s* Forces; who, after all that Noise, can
‘ make but 250 Foot and 60 unarm’d Horse, as
‘ our best Intelligence saith, with whom he landed
‘ on *Saturday* last, at *Wier-Water*, in *Lancashire*,
‘ hasting to his King, if not interrupted in the
‘ Way, which we hope he will be. Their Army,
‘ we heard this Morning, lay last Night about
‘ *Northwich*, and this Evening advanced between
‘ *Nant-*

‘*Nantwich* and *Chester*; their Councils seem very
‘unsteady.’

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Aug. 21. The House received Intelligence, That the *Scots* Army lay on the 17th at *Northwich*, and the next Day advanced between *Nantwich* and *Chester*; and that Major-General *Lambert* and the Forces with him were chearfully followed by the Officers and Soldiers of the *Cheeshire* and *Lancashire* Militia of Foot; who, upon this Emergency, (though their Harvest was ready to cut) promised not to leave them till they either should be properly dismissed, or the Lord put a seasonable Issue to this Business.

The same Day a Letter from the Committee of the Militia at *Coventry*, to the Speaker, was read:

Right Honourable,

‘WE being now nearest the Enemy, take
‘ourselves obliged to give you this Ac-
‘count of their Motion. The last Night they were
‘encamped upon *Blore-Heath*, in this County, not
‘far from *Drayton*, amongst whom we sent a Sol-
‘dier the last Night, who had a View of them,
‘being near their King’s Tent there. We had
‘also a Gentleman, this Morning, who had the
‘View of their March Yesterday. They have be-
‘twixt 5 and 6000 weak Horse, and some 6 or
‘7000 very sickly Foot.

‘We hear further that, upon *Sunday* Night last,
‘my Lord of *Derby* came up to them, who brought
‘with him some 60 Horse, mostly Gentlemen;
‘and return’d back towards *Lancashire*, where he
‘left his Foot, some 200, to raise more. This
‘Day we have an Account that they are moved
‘with their Body to *Newport*, where we suppose
‘their Head Quarters will be this Night.’

Aug. 22. Mr. *Bond* reported from the Council
of State, That Major-General *Lambert* had sent
them a Copy of a Letter to him from Col. *Rich-*

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ard Duckenfield, Governor of *Chester*; advising, That some Parties from thence having taken several of the Scots Army Prisoners; a Letter from the King to Major-General *Massey* (who was employed to solicit Assistance from the Ministers in *Lancashire*) was found upon one of those that were mortally wounded; and that *Lambert* had sent a Copy thereof to *Cromwell*.

The King's Letter was *in hæc Verba*:

From *Stoke*, three Miles from
Nantwich, Aug. 18, late.

Major-Gen. MASSEY,

I Am informed that, by some Mistake, a Clause is added to the Letter from the Presbytery of the Army to the Ministers of *Lancashire*, which may be very dangerous, by breeding Division amongst those that would own me: For I hear they do add to the Letter a Desire that Consideration be taken of Men's former Malignancy.

How dangerous this may be, and how inconsistent with a former Expression of the Letter of the Kirk of Scotland, owning this Army, I leave you to judge: Therefore I would have you burn the Letter, and then I am sure it is lost, and can do no Hurt.

Haste you to the Army, where you will be of very great Use the Way we are to march. I am

Your affectionate Friend,

CHARLES R.

Next a Copy of a Letter from Col. *Moncke*, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, to the Lord-General *Cromwell*, was read:

Stirling, Aug. 14, 1651.

May it please your Excellency,

‘ *T* HIS Day, very early in the Morning, our
‘ Guns began to play, and before Six at
‘ Night the Enemy in the Castle craved Leave to
‘ capitulate, which was agreed unto by the Con-
‘ sent

' sent of the Officers, and the Surrender to be by
' Ten of the Clock next Day.

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' When I sent my Summons to them, they seem-
' ed to be so valiant that they wanted Civility to
' return me an Answer. The Records which were
' at *Edinburgh* are to be given up to us, which shall
' be disposed of as your Excellency shall think
' fit.

' I hope to be on my March towards *Dundee*
' before this Letter comes to your Hands, to reduce
' that Town and Castle that commands the Ri-
' ver.

Your Excellency's most humble Servant,

GEO. MONCKE.

' Aug. 23^d. This Day the Parliament received
Intelligence from the Majors General *Lambert* and
Harrison, dated the 22d, That the *Scots* Army lay
the Night before at *Tonge*, in *Shropshire*, and that
they inclined towards *Worcester*; that Col. *Dan-*
vers, Governor of *Stafford*, with some few Horfe,
fell in upon some of their Quarters, and killed five
of their Men; but gave an Alarm to the whole
Army.

By another Letter it was certified that the *Scots*
had, of Horfe and Foot, 120 Colours; that their
Horfe were poor and harrassed out; that their Foot
were miserably ragged, and sick Creatures a great
Number of them; that their King was found, with
Cap in Hand, desiring them yet a little longer to
stick to him; persuading them that, within two
Days March, they should come into a Country
where all Things would be plentifully provided for
them, and shortly thence to *London*: That the
Parliament's Forces were at *Tamworth*, and from
thence had sent several Parties to attend the Enemy's
Motion; and to dispose their own Marches, in or-
der to a Conjunction with the Lord-General, and
the other Forces lately sent from *London*.

B 2

Aug.

^d There is an *Illatus* in the printed Journals of this Day, which
is supplied from *The Proceedings of Parliament*, N^o. 100.

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Aug. 25. A Letter from the Mayor and City of *Gloucester*, to the Speaker, was read.

S I R,

Aug. 23, 1651.

‘ **T**HE Enemy came to *Worcester* Yesterday,
‘ where, there being some Foot of the Coun-
‘ try, and some Horse, they made a gallant Resist-
‘ ance, and several Times beat them back: But per-
‘ ceiving that, thro’ the Treachery of some in the
‘ Town, the Townsmen had laid down their Arms,
‘ and some of them shot out of the Windows on
‘ our Men, while they were fighting for them, our
‘ Forces removed the Magazine, and withdrew
‘ their Horse and Foot, while 30 Men only resisted
‘ the Enemy, and beat them back; at last (when
‘ our Forces were secure on their Way to *Glou-*
‘ *cester*) these also withdrew, and left the Town of
‘ *Worcester* to the Enemy.

‘ All our Forces are now safe here, at *Gloucester*,
‘ which is strongly fortified, and the Citizens unani-
‘ mously provided to resist any Attempt that shall
‘ be made on this City.’

This Account gave so great Satisfaction to the House, that they ordered a Letter of Thanks to the Mayor and City of *Gloucester*, for their Fidelity and good Affections to the Parliament.

A Letter sent
from the King to
the City of *Lon-*
don, ordered to
be burnt,

The King having sent a Letter, dated the 16th of this Month, address’d to the Lord Mayor and City of *London*, and Mr. *Whitlocke* having reported from the Council of State, a Proclamation thereupon; after some Alterations made by the House, it was ordered to be printed forthwith, and published the next Day at Noon, with Drum and Trumpet, at the *Exchange* in *London*, and in *Westminster* by the Serjeant at Arms. The Council of State was also directed to take Care of the Publication thereof in all other Cities and Towns throughout *England*. And the King’s Letter was ordered to be burnt at the *Exchange* in *London*, by the Hands of the common Hangman.

We

We have not been able to meet with a Copy of his Majesty's Letter; but the Parliament's Proclamation thereupon was *in hæc Verba*:

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‘ **W**Hereas divers of the *Scots* Nation, and some *English* Fugitives, being lately come out of *Scotland* into *England*, with their Leader *Charles Stuart*, Son to the late Tyrant, do here levy War against the Commonwealth, and commit many Outrages, Spoils, and Murders upon the People of this Nation: And the said *Charles Stuart* hath caused himself, by the said Men of *Scotland* and *English* Fugitives, to be proclaimed King of *England*; and, by Declarations, proscribing some who have performed great and excellent Service to the Public, and offering Indulgences to others, would draw Adherents to him in his wicked and traiterous Practices; particularly by Letters in his Name, directed to the City of *London*, and spread abroad by some of his clandestine Agents, he labours to court them to his Party, by boasting his own Condition, and by endeavouring to annihilate the Honour and Esteem of the Parliament and their Forces; who, through God's Mercy, have been so often instrumental to chastise him and his Confederates; and will, through God's Blessing we trust, still prove a burthenstone unto them; hoping, it seems, in the mean Time, that that famous City, (whose Faithfulness and eminent Services in behalf of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, are ever to be acknowledged) and that others of this Land and Nation, into whom, by his Cunning and Flatteries, he would thus insinuate, can forget the horrid and bloody War raised by the late Tyrant his Father, and the Devastations attending it; and, by his Delusions and Impostures, be persuaded to betray themselves and their Liberties again into Vassalage and Bondage, which, thro' the Goodness of God, at so great

And a Proclamation issued, declaring him a Traitor.

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‘ an Expence of Blood and Treasure, have been
 ‘ vindicated from the Pride and Tyranny of that
 ‘ Man and his Father’s House :

‘ Which laborious Fraud and Falshood of him
 ‘ the said *Charles Stuart* hath hitherto notwithstanding,
 ‘ thro’ the Favour of God to his People,
 ‘ proved of small or no Effect but to aggravate his
 ‘ own Guilt, he being a Traitor of a former Date,
 ‘ and to render himself and his Accomplices more
 ‘ and more obnoxious to the Penalties of the Laws
 ‘ of *England*, declaring and adjudging that High
 ‘ Treason, wherein they are so deeply and despe-
 ‘ rately involved :

‘ And whereas, by a late Act and Declaration
 ‘ of Parliament, all Persons have been warned and
 ‘ commanded not to give any Countenance or As-
 ‘ sistance to the said *Charles Stuart*, or his Party ;
 ‘ but to oppose them, and to assist the Forces of
 ‘ this Commonwealth for apprehending of them,
 ‘ to which a most chearful and general Obedience
 ‘ hath been given by the People according to their
 ‘ Duty, wherein the Parliament doth humbly ac-
 ‘ knowledge the Goodness of God to this Nation,
 ‘ and shall not fail to manifest their good Accep-
 ‘ tance of the People’s Affections herein :

‘ All which the Parliament of *England* having
 ‘ taken into their serious Consideration, altho’ they
 ‘ cannot conceive that any true *Englishman* can be
 ‘ debauched from the Duty and Fidelity which they
 ‘ owe to their native Country, upon such deluding
 ‘ and false Pretences as the Enemy hath used, and
 ‘ therefore it is not necessary to make any further
 ‘ Declaration herein ; yet, for the more Notoriety
 ‘ of the Fact to all Persons concerned to take
 ‘ Knowledge of the same, and to avoid all Pretence
 ‘ of Ignorance in any touching the Condition of
 ‘ this Man and his Followers, have thought fit to
 ‘ publish and declare the said *Charles Stuart*, to be
 ‘ a Rebel, Traitor, and public Enemy to the Com-
 ‘ monwealth of *England*, and all his Abettors,
 ‘ Agents, and Accomplices to be Rebels, Traitors,
 ‘ and

‘ and public Enemies to the Commonwealth of
 ‘ *England*; and do hereby command all Officers,
 ‘ Civil and Military, in all Market Towns and
 ‘ convenient Places, to cause this Declaration to
 ‘ be proclaimed and published.

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H. SCOBELL, *Cler. Parl.*

Aug. 26. This Day the Parliament kept an Humiliation at *Margaret’s, Westminster*, to seek unto the Lord for his Blessing upon their Counsels and Forces, and for Success against the Enemy now in the Land: This Ceremony being over, the House ordered Thanks to their Preachers on that Occasion; and then proceeded to read the following Letters from Col. Okey and Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, address’d

To the Rt. Hon. JOHN BRADSHAW, Lord-President of the Council of State at Whitehall.

My Lord, Stirling, Aug. 19, 1651.

‘ I Make bold to trouble you with a few Lines to
 ‘ let your Lordship know, that after it had
 ‘ pleased God to give us *Stirling* Town, I with
 ‘ Col. *Berry*, and two Troops of Horse more, and
 ‘ two of Dragoons, marched to *Glasgow* and the
 ‘ West Country; being fully informed that some
 ‘ Lords were returning from the King with full
 ‘ Commission to raise in those Parts 6000 Horse
 ‘ and Foot, and accordingly had their Commission-
 ‘ ers sitting at *Glasgow* and *Paisley*, for levying of
 ‘ the said Forces, and having already some Hun-
 ‘ dreds list’d about, and drawing what they had
 ‘ together to a Rendezvous, we marched with all
 ‘ possible Speed to prevent them.

Col. Okey’s Account of the Affairs of Scotland.

‘ And upon the 11th Instant set forward from
 ‘ hence, and marched to *Glasgow, Paisley*, and *Irwin*, and sent out Parties all over the Country
 ‘ round about; and, through the Goodness of God,
 ‘ have so scoured the Country, that we may now
 ‘ march with 100 Horse from this Place all over
 ‘ the West and South. We have totally broken
 ‘ all

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‘ all their Levies, and have taken some of their
‘ chief Commissioners Prisoners, as the Lord Or-
‘ miston and some others, and returned back to this
‘ Place with our Horse Yesterday, the 18th pre-
‘ sent.

‘ A Party of ours also, which I sent to *Bog-Hall*,
‘ brought me fourteen Ministers Prisoners, who
‘ were all met together in a Barn by a Wood-Side,
‘ six Miles from *Glasgow*, but were released again,
‘ being about a Work that I hope will prove ad-
‘ vantageous to us. It is thus: The General As-
‘ sembly having silenced many of them, and for-
‘ bid them to preach both in public and in pri-
‘ vate, they were there met together to seek the
‘ Lord, whether they should obey or disobey the
‘ General Assembly’s Order. And they assured
‘ us, as in the Presence of the Lord, that they were
‘ about no other Work; and that God had set it
‘ upon their Hearts, that it was better to obey God
‘ than Men, and so accounted their General As-
‘ sembly a malignant usurp’d Authority, which
‘ ought not to be obeyed: And therefore, they being
‘ set at Liberty by us, did on the last Lord’s Day,
‘ in *Glasgow* and other Parts, preach publicly
‘ against that wicked Authority. The Lord hath
‘ done great Things for us in these Parts, whereof
‘ we have great Cause to be glad, and we are con-
‘ fident also he is doing great Things for you in
‘ *England*. I should enlarge, but must now
‘ abruptly break off, the Post staying for my Let-
‘ ters. I forbear to trouble you any further, save
‘ to tell you that I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship’s very humble Servant,

JOHN OKEY.

S-I R,

Banbury, Aug. 25, 1651.

More Letters
touching the Mo-
tions of both Ar-
mies in *England*.

‘ **A**S for Affairs here, I shall present you with
‘ this brief Account: The Enemy, we un-
‘ derstand, came into *Worcester* upon *Friday* last
‘ in

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‘in the Afternoon; our Men retreated from them
‘to *Gloucester*, which was looked upon as season-
‘able for that Place, apprehended to be, before
‘their coming, in some Danger. The *Scots* staid
‘not long in the Town, but march’d their Army
‘over the *Severn*, leaving a Party behind, who give
‘out, that they intend to re-fortify that Place, and
‘to that End have summoned in the Country to
‘repair the Works, and that which is called the
‘*Royal Fort*. If this be their Business, I doubt
‘not but we shall be up with them, before any
‘Thing considerable can be done: But I be-
‘lieve their main Design is to secure the Passes up-
‘on the *Severn*, thereby to secure themselves, re-
‘fresh their wearied Army, and invite their Friends
‘to come in to their Assistance; which indeed is a
‘Mercy not to be slighted by us, that though this
‘precious Cause hath so many Enemies, yet so few
‘adventure to come in unto them. It is thought
‘by us that their Army doth not consist of above
‘12,000 Horse and Foot effective; and those of
‘their Foot very much harrassed, by often and fre-
‘quent marching, insomuch that they did impor-
‘tune their King to take Pity on them; who an-
‘swered, That they should suddenly have Refresh-
‘ment, and gave them good Words, and told them
‘what Assistance he expected from his Friends.
‘They have very few of *English* Horse amongst
‘them, their Foot Highlanders. I see it is not
‘good to despise the meanest Creature. It is said
‘that Major-General *Masse* marches with a Party
‘to *Gloucester*, in hopes that, upon his Approach,
‘his old Friends would appear for him.

‘My Lord-General came last Night to *War-*
‘*wick*, his Foot will be there this Night: We
‘shall, either this Day or To-morrow, march
‘near the Enemy, and not give them the Liberty
‘of ranging far; and though their Confidence be
‘much in their Passes, yet I trust we shall not find
‘that Work so difficult as it seems at a Distance
‘both to you and us: However, you know hitherto
‘the

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‘ the Lord hath carried us through the greatest
‘ Straits, before we have attained our desired Issue.
‘ And if it be so now, it should be the less strange
‘ to us. I shall not further trouble you, save to
‘ subscribe myself,

Sir,

Your faithful and humble Servant,

CHA. FLEETWOOD.

Aug. 27. The House received a Letter from Col. *Mackworth*, inclosing a Summons and Letter to him from the King, with his Answer: All which were read.

And first the Summons, which was address’d thus :

To Col. MACKWORTH, Governor of Shrewsbury.

CHARLES R.

Col. MACKWORTH,

BEing desirous to attempt all fair Ways for recovering our own, before we proceed to Force and Extremity; and, where the Controversy is with Subjects, accounting that a double Victory which is obtained without Effusion of Blood, and where the Hearts, that of Right belong to us, are gained as well as their Strengths; we do hereby summon you to surrender forthwith, into our Hands, our Town, with the Castle of Shrewsbury, as in Duty and Allegiance, by the Laws of God and the Land, you are bound to do; thereby not only preventing the Mischief which you may otherwise draw upon yourself and that Place, but also opening the first Door to the Kingdom’s Peace and Quietness, and the Enjoyment of every one, both King and People, that which pertains to them, under certain and known Laws, the End for which we are come.

Given at our Camp at Tong-Norton, this 20th of August, 1651,

Next

Next, the Letter sent therewith :

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Tong-Norton, Aug. 20,
Col. MACKWORTH, 1651.

*H*AVING sent you herewith a Summons to render into my Hands my Town with the Castle of Shrewsbury, I cannot but persuade myself you will do it, when I consider you a Gentleman of an antient House, and of very differing Principles, as I am informed, from those with whom your Employment ranks you at present : If you shall peaceably deliver them to me, I will not only pardon you what is past, and protect you and yours in your Persons, and all that belongs to you, but reward so eminent and seasonable a Testimony of your Loyalty, with future Trust and Favour; and do leave it to yourself to propose the Particulars; being, upon that Condition, ready to grant you presently any Thing you shall reasonably desire, and to approve myself

Your Friend,
CHARLES R.

How much his Majesty was mistaken in his Opinion of this Gentleman's good Disposition towards him, appears from the contemptuous Style of his Answer, which was not address'd *To the King*, but directed thus :

For the Commander in Chief of the SCOTS Army.

S I R, Shrewsbury, Aug. 21, 1651.

‘ *B*Y your Trummet I received two Papers, the
‘ one containing a Proposition, the other a
‘ direct Summons for the Rendition of the Town
‘ and Castle of *Shrewsbury*, the Custody whereof
‘ I have received by Authority of Parliament; and
‘ if you believe me a Gentleman, as you say you
‘ do, you may believe I will be faithful to my
‘ Trust; to a Violation whereof neither Allure-
‘ ments can persuade me, nor Threatenings of
‘ Force, especially when but Paper ones, compell
‘ me. What Principles I am judg'd to be of I
‘ know

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‘ know not, but I hope they are such as shall ever
‘ declare me honest, and no way differing herein,
‘ as I know, from those engaged in the same Em-
‘ ployment with me; who, should they desert that
‘ Cause they are embark’d in, resolve to be found,
‘ as I am, unremoveably,

The faithful Servant of the

Commonwealth of England,

HUMP. MACKWORTH.

This Behaviour of Col. *Mackworth* was so pleasing to the House, that they order’d the Lord-Commissioner *Whitlocke* to draw up a Letter of Thanks to him, to be sign’d by the Speaker; acknowledging their good Acceptance of his Fidelity: They also resolv’d that a Gold Chain and Medal of the Parliament, to the Value of 100*l.* be sent to him as a Mark of their Favour.

The same Day a Letter to the Speaker, from Dr. *Clerke*, Advocate to the Court of Admiralty, giving an Account of the Surrender of *Stirling-Castle* to the Parliament’s Forces, was read.

Mr. Speaker, Stirling, Aug. 19. 1651.

Account of the
Surrender of
Stirling-Castle.

‘ **O**N this Day Se’nnight we perfected our Plat-
‘ forms for Batteries, and two Mortar-Pieces
‘ brought up from *Leith* for the reducing of *Stir-*
‘ *ling-Castle*. The Enemy shot thro’ and thro’ our
‘ Batteries, but did not hurt any of our Men.
‘ They play’d hard against our Men that were in
‘ the Steeple of the Town Kirk, which did much
‘ annoy them; they shot through the Steeple, but
‘ all their Shots hurt but one Man.

‘ Two Mortar-Pieces were drawn to the Plat-
‘ form this Evening. All Things being in Readi-
‘ diness to go roundly to work with the Castle the
‘ Lieutenant-General sent a Summons in to the
‘ Governor of the Castle, requiring him to deliver
‘ the same to the Use of the Parliament of England;

‘ to which he returned a verbal Answer, That he
 ‘ would keep the Castle as long as he could. The
 ‘ Lieutenant-General also sent about Exchange of
 ‘ Prisoners for some of ours he had in the Castle ;
 ‘ but it seems he would exchange none, in hopes
 ‘ to make Terms by them. Col. *Pinchbeck*, an
 ‘ *Englishman*, and one of the Colonels that Col.
 ‘ *Blake* gave a Pass to come from *Scilly* into *Scotland*,
 ‘ kiss’d the King’s Hand, and went as far as *Glas-*
 ‘ *gow* with him towards *England*; but is come back
 ‘ hither, declaring much Disaffection and Dissatis-
 ‘ faction at the Enemy’s Design, and says he will
 ‘ not join any more with them.

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‘ On *Wednesday* the two Mortar-Pieces were
 ‘ planted, and Mr. *Hean* the Engineer, (who was
 ‘ sent for from *St. Johnstown* for that Purpose) made
 ‘ two Shots with each of them for Trial, two of
 ‘ which fell and brake in the Midst of the Castle.

‘ On *Thursday* the 14th both Guns and Mortar-
 ‘ Pieces play’d hard against the Castle ; we made
 ‘ two of their Guns unserviceable ; they hurt us
 ‘ two Gunners with small Shot.

‘ In the Afternoon, whilst our Mortar-Pieces
 ‘ were playing hard, they in the Castle beat a Par-
 ‘ ley ; which being hearkened unto, they sent out
 ‘ a Drummer with a Letter, intimating Desires
 ‘ of a Treaty : The Lieutenant-General sent in a
 ‘ Letter, wherein he took Notice of the Governor’s
 ‘ slighting his first Summons, but propos’d three
 ‘ Articles to him, which he would grant if they
 ‘ would render forthwith, otherwise he would not
 ‘ accept of any Treaty. Hereupon, about half an
 ‘ Hour after, the Governor sent out Capt. *James*
 ‘ *Cunningham* and one Mr. *Wright*, as Commis-
 ‘ sioners to treat ; but the Records of *Scotland*,
 ‘ which the Governor desired might be conveyed
 ‘ to some other Garrison of theirs, being denied
 ‘ them, Mr. *Wright* said his Commission was blown
 ‘ up, and would not treat ; however that Night
 ‘ the Articles were all agreed on, and Hostages
 ‘ sent forth.

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‘ The Occasion of their most hasty Surrender, was from a Mutiny of the Soldiers in the Castle; who, being a commanded Party of their Army, and most Highlanders, not accustomed to *Grana- does*, were much affrighted, and beat the Drum without Order, threatening to throw over their Officers if they should disturb them; saying, *They would fight for their King and Kingdom, and not for their Country’s Geer.*

‘ The next Day the Governor, with about 300 Officers and Soldiers, marched forth according to Agreement: The Soldiers had the Night before broken open many of the Trunks in the Castle, and went away laden with as much Geer as they could carry.

‘ There were in the Castle 40 Pieces of Ordnance, *viz.* 27 very fair Brass Pieces, two great Iron Guns, and 11 Leather Guns; Provision of Meal to serve 500 Men above twelve Months, 40 or 50 Barrels of Beef, about 5000 Arms, (new Muskets and Pikes) 26 Barrels of Powder, 20 or 30 Vessels of Claret Wine and strong Waters, great Store of Match with other Ammunition, Lances, Swans Feathers, Darts, and other Instruments of War of that Nature; all the Records of *Scotland*^c, the Chair and Cloth of State, the Sword, and other rich Furniture of the King’s, the Earl of *Mar’s* Coronet and Stirrups of Gold, with his Parliament-Robes. There was also Store of Goods of the Country and Town’s People in the Castle, which they had Liberty to carry away according to Articles, and came in great Numbers for three or four Days together, little or nothing being embezzled, but what hath been taken away by their own Men. We had released, a little before our Entrance, 32 Prisoners, among whom were *Mr. Gerardus van Bohmen*, Engineer, Lieutenant *Jones*, and others taken at *Newark*.

‘ Thus

^c Eighty-four *Hopsheds* of these Records were lost in their Return to *Scotland* by Sea, after the *Restoration*.

‘ Thus hath God in less than a Week’s Space,
 ‘ nay, less than a Day’s Space, (for we did not play
 ‘ so long with our Guns and Mortar-Pieces) given
 ‘ into our Hands one of the strongest and most
 ‘ magnificent Castles in *Scotland*, and the most, if
 ‘ not only, considerable Pass into the Country be-
 ‘ yond it. When we came before it, a Quære
 ‘ was made who should lead us into this strong
 ‘ Castle? it was answered, *The Righteous shall*
 ‘ *possess the Gates of their Enemies*; and certainly
 ‘ the Mercy is not the less for being gained with so
 ‘ little Loss, but the greater; and is a Pledge of
 ‘ what he will do for those that are now like to be
 ‘ engaged in *England*.

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‘ Since my coming into the Castle, which is one
 ‘ of the stateliest and fairest Buildings I have seen
 ‘ in *Scotland*, I observed this Motto over the Cha-
 ‘ pel Door, J. 6. R. *Nobis hæc invicta miserunt*
 ‘ *Centum sex proavi*, 1617. It seems it had pass’d
 ‘ the 107th unconquered, but not the 108th.

‘ Col. Okey is return’d with his Party who went
 ‘ into the West: He took the Lord *Ormiston*, Mr.
 ‘ *Alexander*, Mr. *Henderson*, and others, who were
 ‘ sitting at *Paisley* for the raising of a Regiment to
 ‘ be under the Command of Col. *Cochran*, whom
 ‘ their King had sent out of *England* for that Pur-
 ‘ pose, though he had before promised it to Major-
 ‘ General *Van Rofs*; they were both in the Town
 ‘ the Day before, but got away with the Laird of
 ‘ *Blair’s* Troop into the Highlands.

‘ We are now preparing for a March with our
 ‘ Horse and Foot towards *Dundee*. When our
 ‘ Convoy had brought those that marched out of
 ‘ the Castle of *Stirling* as far as *St. Johnstown*, they
 ‘ all went to their several Homes, except about 140.
 ‘ I crave your Pardon for this Boldness, and rest

Your most humble Servant,

W. CLERKE.

In consequence of this Letter the House resolv’d,
 That all the Records, with the *Regalia* and *Insignia*,
 taken in *Stirling-Castle*, be lodg’d in the *Tower*
 ‘ of

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of *London*, under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls.

Lastly was read a Letter from Col. *Hewson*, Governor of *Dublin*, touching the State of Affairs in that Kingdom.

To the Right Honourable the LORD-PRESIDENT
of the Council of State.

My Lord, *Finagh*, Aug. 6, 1651.

Col. *Hewson's*
Account of the
State of *Ireland*.

SINCE my Return from *Stirkloe*, I marched to *Athlone*, from whence I sent 500 Recruits to my Lord-President. The Enemy is come to this Side of *Gallway*, and endeavoured a Conjunction of their Forces, to raise or disturb the Siege at *Limerick*; and, to that End, *Muskerry* and *Fitz-Patrick* were to join on this Side the *Shannon* and *Dungan*, and *Roche* on *Connaught* Side; but the Works before *Gallway* being finished, my Lord-President hath left his Foot in Security at the Siege, and he with some Horse doth lie in one Place, and a Party from me joining with a Party from my Lord-Deputy, under the Command of Sir *Theophilus Jones*, doth lie fifteen Miles beyond *Athlone*, whereby they cannot join. *Muskerry* was met with by my Lord *Brogbill*, and was routed, with the Loss of 500 Men upon the Place, and as many wounded. *Limerick* is in great Straits, we hope it will be yours speedily; *Gallway* may hold out longer; the *Irish* increase in Numbers, but their Gatherings are in order to their breaking in Pieces. *Fitz-Patrick* is in *King's County* with 2000 Men, and *Dominick O'Connor*, *Barth. O'Neale*, and Mr. *Longford* with (it is reported) 5000, but I suppose hardly half. *Phelim M'Hugh Riley*, in *Cavan*, is reported 3000. They scuffle apace; *Fitz-Patrick* hath surprized *Melecks* upon the *Shannon*, the Soldiers being asleep. Part of *Riley's* Men besieged this Place, and storm'd it Yesterday

'sterday Morning; but were beaten off with great
'Loss: We lost only four Men. Their Stay here
'was twenty-eight Hours. I find them unwilling
'to fight, though their Numbers be great. I have
'not 1000 Foot, nor 400 Horse, yet whensoever
'I pursue them they fly into Places of Security. I
'intended to have attempted *Ballincarge*, but find-
'ing the Enemy much over-number me, I think
'it not adviseable to engage your Guns; but to be
'loose untill *Limerick* be taken, when I may ex-
'pect the *Leinster* Horse back again. I came this
'Day to the Relief of this Place, but found the
'Enemy scattered; yea, and they shall scatter,
'tumble, and fall, when the Terrors of the Lord
'do make them afraid. I am,

My Lord,

Your very faithful Servant,

J. HEWSON.

Aug. 28. A Letter from Lieutenant-General
Fleetwood to the Speaker, intimating the Arrival of
the King's Army in and about *Worcester*, was read.

S I R,

Shepstone, Aug. 27, 1651.

'OUR Army is this Day upon their March
'towards *Evesham*, and so likewise are we. The English and
Scots Armies
'I suppose To-morrow we shall march up to *Wor-*
'*cester*. The Enemy, the last *Saturday*, had a Con- draw near each
other about Wor-
'sultation about fortifying that Place, and were
'very different and uncertain in their Councils
'about it, but were prevailed with by the Mayor,
'Sheriff, and some of the Aldermen, to fortify that
'Place, which now they are very busy a doing.

'This Day they have a Fast, To-morrow a
'general Rendezvous of their Army and the Coun-
'try a Mile on this Side *Worcester*; but I suppose
'we shall spoil that Design. It is supposed that,
'upon our Approach to *Worcester*, they will quit
'that Place, but it may be their Hearts are har-
'dened to stay to their own Destruction: This
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‘ will prevail much with them to stay, that their
 ‘ Reputation, which they have seemingly got, will
 ‘ be otherwise lost, they having persuaded the
 ‘ People that there is no such Man alive as my
 ‘ Lord-General *Cromwell*, and that we have no
 ‘ Army left: Upon this Account they have had
 ‘ more Additions of Men in *Worcestershire* than in
 ‘ all *England* besides, yet I doubt not but we shall
 ‘ have that Appearance from the Lord with us, that
 ‘ it will be manifested to the World, that the righ-
 ‘ teous Cause we are engaged in is his. I am per-
 ‘ suaded we are near a very signal Mercy; the Lord
 ‘ keep us humble and believing, and fit both you
 ‘ who are our Governors, and ourselves, for what
 ‘ we shall receive.

‘ The Enemy are likewise fortifying *Maxfield-
 ‘ House*, near *Worcester*. Mr. *Moore*, and some
 ‘ other well-affected Persons of *Worcester*, came to
 ‘ us this Morning. You will have a more full
 ‘ Account how they were betrayed at *Worcester*.
 ‘ I am,

My Lord,

Your most humble and faithful Servant,

C. FLEETWOOD.

Aug. 29. A Letter from Colonel *Birch* to the
 Speaker, with Advice of the Earl of *Derby*’s being
 routed in *Lancashire*, was read as follows:

S I R,

Liverpool, Aug. 26, 1651.

A Relation of
 the Earl of *Der-
 by*’s Defeat in
Lancashire.

‘ IT pleased the Lord, Yesterday, to give an ut-
 ‘ ter Overthrow, by Col. *Lilburne*’s Regiment
 ‘ of Horse, to the Earl of *Derby*, who was raising
 ‘ Men here in this County for the *Scots* King. The
 ‘ Earl, at his coming over from the Isle of *Man*,
 ‘ brought but 300 Men, whereof 60 were Horse;
 ‘ but landing about the Middle of the Shire, when
 ‘ the *Scots* Army were passing out of it, he had
 ‘ the better Opportunity, by our Distractions, to
 ‘ march up to *Warrington* to them; and there he
 ‘ had the Assistance of Major-General *Massey*, with

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‘ a Regiment of Horſe, to countenance his Proceedings while he gathered more to him, who afterwards left him when the Earl’s Forces were reputed conſiderable enough to carry on the Work: And there being none in this County left competent to make Oppoſition, but all marched out with the Army, I ſent both to my Lord-General and the Majors General to acquaint them with it, whereupon Col. *Lilburne* came very opportunely; yet the Enemy being ſtronger in Foot, and ſecuring himſelf betwixt two Rivers, he was not to be attempted by Horſe only; and all that could be afforded in Aſſiſtance were two Foot Companies from *Cheſter*, (one of the Regiments, left about *Mancheſter*, not being ſo ready as the reſt to march out) and what Muſketeers I horſed from hence, with ſome few Countrymen; but ſince my Lord-General’s own Regiment of Foot being ſent up, and within one Day’s March, the Enemy attempted to join the *Scots* Army; but being purſued by Col. *Lilburne*’s Regiment, and the final Addition before named, without the Conjunction of my Lord-General’s Regiment, it pleaſed God to give them an abſolute Overthrow.

‘ The Number of Priſoners and the Slain, with their Qualifications, I cannot yet give further Account of, but I hope this Succeſs prevents all Deſigns in theſe Parts. I muſt beg Excuse for this diſtracted Letter, and ever am,

S I R,

Your moſt real and humble Servant,

THO. BIRCHE.

The next Day came a Letter from Col. *Lilburne* himſelf to the Speaker, containing all the Particulars of the Earl of *Derby*’s Deſeat.

Mr. Speaker, Wigan, Aug. 25, 1651.

‘ MY Lord-General being pleaſed to command me to ſtay here, to aſſiſt the Well-affected againſt the Lord *Derby*, who was then

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‘ at *Warrington* in this County, with some considerable Force both from the Isle of *Man*, and which he had from the *Scots* Army; wherewith he did not only much encourage the Enemy, but also discourage all the Well-affected in these Counties of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*, and whereof he thought himself wholly Master, as indeed he was, (none in those Counties being able or daring to appear against him) and began to beat Drums and raise Men in all Places where he came; and would have been very strong in a short Time, not only thro’ the Access of many Malignants, Papists, and disaffected Persons, but that Assistance the Ministers and those who are called Presbyterians afforded, and would have more abundantly appeared; for they are the Men who are grown here more bitter and envious against you than others of the old Cavaliers Stamp. The Power of the Almighty was very much seen in the total Overthrow (I hope) of that wicked Design which was laid and hatched not only here, but through the whole North of *England*, who was getting into the like Posture, as you may further understand by those Papers I have here sent you. But that God, who hath all along appeared with us and for us, hath shewed himself very good and powerful in the dissipating of this Enemy, who was, about 14 or 1500 strong; whilst I had only three Companies of Foot, about 50 or 60 Dragoons, and about 30 Horse from *Liverpool*, with my own wearied and somewhat scattered Regiment, through our tedious March from *Scotland*, and hard Duty we had here.

‘ Yesterday Morning (the Enemy having marched from *Preston* the Night before about Eleven or Twelve o’Clock) we lay within two or three Miles of them, where we expected those Supplies of Forces which came not; and some of our Intelligence informing us the Enemy were running away towards their Army with what they had gotten, we pursued them hither, with some Confidence that that Intelligence was true; and

‘ we

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‘ we believed it the rather, because of some Dis-
‘ couragement we put upon them the Day before;
‘ but upon our Approach hither we found it other-
‘ wise, for they were bending their Course towards
‘ *Manchester*, where they had not only very great
‘ Hopes of surprizing my Lord-General’s Regi-
‘ ment of Foot, but also great Assurance of the As-
‘ sistance of 500 Men in and about that Town;
‘ yet, upon the Sight of our near Approach, they
‘ unexpectedly put themselves into a Posture of
‘ fighting with us, which then we endeavoured to
‘ decline, in regard of the great Advantage they
‘ had by their many Foot, and Hedges, and the
‘ Danger we apprehended my Lord-General’s Re-
‘ giment of Foot at *Manchester* to be in.

‘ We were drawing off, thinking to have march-
‘ ed in the left Flank of them thither, to have
‘ gained a Conjunction with our Friends, who had
‘ Orders to march to me that Day towards *Pres-
‘ ton*; and had Thoughts to have met them in the
‘ Way, having sent several Messengers to let them
‘ know both the Enemy’s and our Motion; but the
‘ Enemy perceiving us to draw off, quickly advan-
‘ ced upon us with their Horse and Foot; which
‘ we perceiving, and that we could not go off safely
‘ enough, we fell to dispute with them, which
‘ lasted almost an Hour; our Horse not being able
‘ to do any Service but in Lanes, and they over-
‘ powering us much in Foot, made the Business so
‘ very difficult, that we hardly knew whose the
‘ Day would be for so long; but therein was the
‘ Salvation of God the more seen, and the greater
‘ Opportunity we had to destroy them: I desire that
‘ he may have the Praise and Glory of that happy
‘ Success he was pleased to give unto us, his poor
‘ Creatures.

‘ Having given you this Narrative in general,
‘ which I thought it my Duty to do, this inclosed
‘ List will inform you further of the Particulars.

‘ The Country now begins to bring in Prisoners,
‘ and to shew themselves to me, though before but
‘ a few appeared. The Enemy’s Word was *Jesu*,
‘ and

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‘ and their Signal White about their Arm; our
 ‘ Word was *Providence*, and Signal Green.

‘ I desire the Lord would teach us to walk in some
 ‘ Way answerable to those manifold and gracious
 ‘ Dispensations he daily gives us Experience of,
 ‘ and manifests his Love unto us in, that his Name
 ‘ may be magnified in all we do, in our several
 ‘ Places and Stations: This great Mercy to us
 ‘ here, I hope, is the Earnest of his further Ten-
 ‘ derness to the great Concernments of all good
 ‘ People in this Nation, which is the hearty Desire
 ‘ of

Your faithful and

most humble Servant to my Power,

ROB. LILBURNE.

P. S. ‘ This Bearer was all the while in the En-
 ‘ gagement, and is able to give you a further Re-
 ‘ lation.

‘ I have not lost an Officer in this Engagement
 ‘ but one Corporal, and not above 10 Soldiers slain,
 ‘ but very many wounded.

Prisoners taken at Wigan. Colonels, *Throckmor-*
ton, Legg, Robinson, Baynes, Gerrard, and the Ad-
 jutant - General; Lieutenant - Colonels, *Rigby,*
Baynes, Galliard, and Constable; Major *Gower;* four
 Captains; two Lieutenants; one Quarter-Master;
 20 Gentlemen and Reformadoes; 400 private Pri-
 soners; all their Baggage and Sumpters, Arms and
 Ammunition; the Lord *Derby's* three Cloaks with
 Stars, his George, Garter, and other Robes.

Slain, and dead since they were taken. The Lord
Widdrington; Major-General Sir *Thomas Tildsley;*
 Colonel *Matthew Boynton;* Majors, *Chester* and
Trollop; and divers others of Quality, whose Names
 are not yet brought in, besides 60 private Men.

Inclosed in the foregoing was a Letter from
 Col. *Lilburne* to the Lord-General *Cromwell;* but
 as it is much to the same Purpose, we pass it
 over.

In

In consequence of all these great Successes, the House ordered Thanks to be given to Almighty God, the next Lord's Day; and that the respective Ministers should, at the same Time, beg the Divine Blessing upon the Parliament's Army now ready to engage with the Enemy; and that the Lord Mayor of *London* do take Care to give them Notice accordingly.

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In the Midst of all this Hurry of Affairs an Act was passed for continuing the Assessment of 120,000*l. per Menssem*, for three Months longer, from the 29th of *September* ensuing. And a Letter was ordered to be sent to the Commissioners for this Assessment, to enforce the Collection thereof in the respective Counties of this Commonwealth, which was as follows :

Gentlemen,

THE Parliament have, by their Act herewith sent you, continued the Assessments of 120,000*l. a Month* for three Months from the 29th of *September* next; and ordered that the same be at once assessed, and the Collection thereof so disposed and effectually prosecuted, that one Moiety, at the least, may be paid into the Treasury, on or before the 20th of *October* next; and the other Moiety on or before the 1st of *December* next. And in regard the punctual Observance of their Order therein, so as timely Provisions may be made for the Forces that are now by the *Scots* Incurſion drawn together, and straitened in their Quarters, and for other emergent Occasions, is of that Importance that the Safety of the whole Commonwealth very much depends thereupon, they have commanded me to recommend to you, who are chiefly concerned, in respect of your Trust, in the Management of this Work, the Necessity for the Improvement of your utmost Endeavours therein. I shall not need to press you with any Arguments, the public Peace and Safety of this Commonwealth being so highly concerned, and at this Season requiring a more

A Letter from the Speaker to enforce the Collection thereof.

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‘ than ordinary Care and Diligence: Whereof not
‘ doubting, I rest

Your loving Friend,

W. LENTHALL.

About this Time the King published another Declaration, intituled, *His Majesty's second Declaration*, set forth upon his Arrival at *Worcester*: This was also read in the House, and burnt a few Days after by the common Hangman.

An Act for re-
ducing public
Interest.

The only Act passed this Month worth our Notice, besides those already mentioned, was for the lowering of the Common Interest of Money from 8 to 6 *per Cent*. The Preamble to this Act informs us, that the Reason for passing it was, That Land was lately fallen greatly in its Value.—Probably this was in some Measure owing to the bringing the Revenues of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and Delinquents Estates, to public Sale.

September. This Month begins with a Series of Letters from the Army, communicated to the House by the Council of State, from whence the News of a general Engagement was daily expected. The two following are the most material.

A Letter from Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*.

*Upton, Aug. 29, 1651, Three in
the Afternoon.*

My Lord,

Letters intimating an Expectation of a general Engagement.

‘ **Y**esterday Major-General *Lambert*, with a
‘ Regiment of Horse from us, three Troops
‘ of Dragoons, and some Horse from the Army,
‘ marched up to see the Pass here; and finding a ve-
‘ ry slender Guard upon it, ordered some few Dra-
‘ goons to possess the Church that commands the
‘ Pass, which they accordingly did without any
‘ considerable Opposition.

‘ Major-General *Maffey* was here, and com-
‘ manded in Chief; he had not above 500 Horse,
‘ be-

besides some few Dragoons, with him; and tho' the Number of ours were very inconsiderable to *Masseys*, yet the Lord gave them not Hearts to make any great Resistance, but ran away.

We kill'd some few of their Horses and Men, *Massey* himself wounded in his Hand. This Mercy which we have got, without the least Drop of Blood, is great; the Lord, I trust, will direct us to a right Improvement thereof. That which we thought would have been a Work of much Difficulty and Time, in gaining a Pass, the Lord hath been pleased to make easy: As soon as our Men had gained the Pass, Major-General *Lambert* sent to me for some Foot to make it good; and accordingly I mounted about 300 behind our Horse, and ordered the Foot to march after us with what Speed they could, which they did with so much Chearfulness, that they were soon after us at this Town, where we now are, both Horse and Foot, in Town and Fields.

We understand, by a Prisoner we took this Morning, that the *Scots* Army lye encamp'd a Mile on this Side *Worcester*. We expected this Morning their Advance towards us, and accordingly did prepare ourselves, by the Lord's Blessing upon our Endeavours, to make our Resistance; but they came not near us, only with their Horse-Guard four or five Miles off us, which, upon the Approach of a Party of ours, they sent back to *Worcester*. We understand by the same Party, that my Lord-General is playing against *Worcester* with his Great Guns.

It is a Mercy exceedingly to be admired, that there is so great a Restraint upon People's Hearts, that few *English* appear against that righteous Cause we engage in; but the Lord is our Strength, and that we may more and more make our whole Dependency upon him, is the Prayer of

Your most faithful and humble Servant,

CHA. FLEETWOOD.

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Another, dated *Gloucester, August 30, 1651.*

S I R,

‘ **O**N *Thursday* Morning last the Lord-General
 ‘ *Cromwell* came before *Worcester*, having
 ‘ about 17,000 Horse and Foot, with Major-Ge-
 ‘ neral *Lambert* and Major-General *Harrison*. He
 ‘ lies at present upon the South-West Side of *Wor-*
 ‘ *cester*, and is not, as yet, extended to the North
 ‘ Side.

‘ Upon *Thursday* Night the Enemy sallied out,
 ‘ but were beaten in without Loss of one Man of
 ‘ our Army, only one wounded, three of the Ene-
 ‘ my being slain, and five Horses taken.

‘ Upon *Friday* Night, between One and Two
 ‘ o’Clock, the Enemy made a very desperate Sally
 ‘ out of *Sidbury-Gate*, with 1500 Horse and Foot,
 ‘ or thereabouts, with an Intent to set upon an
 ‘ House wherein our Army had set 200 Musketeers,
 ‘ being about a Mile off the City, upon the Road
 ‘ towards *Gloucester*, South-East of the River; they
 ‘ came within less than eight Score Yards of the said
 ‘ House, but the Officers and Soldiers being ready,
 ‘ and the Army having taken the Alarm, prevented
 ‘ the Design, beat them back into the City, with
 ‘ the Loss of one Man, being a private Soldier.

‘ And there were found dead this Morning, be-
 ‘ ing *Saturday*, of their Men upon the Highway,
 ‘ eleven, amongst whom was an eminent Man, as
 ‘ it is thought by his Habit: Three more of the
 ‘ Enemy lost their Way, and came within the Body
 ‘ of our Foot, whom they presently slew. The
 ‘ Enemy within the City are making their Works
 ‘ very strong, and are this Day upon the Mount
 ‘ lying near the River, on the South-East of the
 ‘ City.

‘ Over *Severn*, upon the West Side of the City,
 ‘ lies all the Army of the Enemy contracted within
 ‘ two Miles of the City, to my best Intelligence;
 ‘ but all visible to our Army, except only small
 ‘ Parties that are out to fetch in Provisions; and
 ‘ in the Night they send into the City 3 or 4000
 ‘ of

‘ of their Horse, which they constantly draw out
‘ in the Day. They shoot all Day excessively at
‘ our Horse and Foot, as if they feared never to
‘ want Powder or Bullets.

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‘ The Lord Grey, Lieutenant-General Fleet-
‘ wood, and Major-General Desborough, came to
‘ Upton Bridge upon Thursday Afternoon, got the
‘ Pass, and possessed themselves of Upton Church
‘ on the other Side the River, without the Loss of
‘ one Man; kill’d two of the Enemy, kill’d Mas-
‘ sey’s Horse under him, took his own Servant, who
‘ is since dead, who confessed his Master was en-
‘ gaged, and that it was his Master’s Horse that
‘ lay dead in the Street, and that a Highlander lent
‘ him his Horse to make his Escape.

‘ Our Army at Upton Bridge are between 10 and
‘ 11,000, at Worcester about 18,000, besides 3000
‘ that are within one Day’s March. All the Com-
‘ manders in Chief of our Army are in good
‘ Health, and very active. Massy himself is
‘ wounded in the Right Arm, and some say in the
‘ Thigh too. He was led into Worcester between
‘ two on Horseback on either Side of him; he look’d
‘ very pale; some since report him dead, but that
‘ is not believed.’

The Lord-Commissioner Lisle reported, from the
Council of State, a traiterous and seditious Paper,
intituled, *By the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, a*
General Summons to the Kingdom to rise for the King
and Laws; and also an Act prohibiting the keeping
and publishing the said Paper, or any other such
traiterous and seditious Papers; and requiring all
Persons to bring in the same to the Council of State,
in order to their being burnt by the common Hang-
man; which was read a first and second Time, and
committed.

A Summons
from the King
ordered to be
burnt.

But there was no great Occasion for all this Pre-
caution: For,

On the 5th of this Month, the House receiv’d di-
vers Letters of the Defeat of the Scots Army near
Wor-

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Worcester, two Days before : That from the Lord-General himself will be sufficient in this Place.

*For the Right Hon. WILLIAM LENTHALL, Esq;
Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth
of England.*

*Near Worcester, Sept. 3, 1651,
Ten at Night.*

S I R,

Gen. Cromwell's
Account of his
routing the Scots
Army at *Worcester*:

BEING so weary, and scarce able to write, yet I thought it my Duty to let you know thus much, that upon this Day, being the Third of September, (remarkable for a Mercy vouchsafed to your Forces on this Day Twelve-month in Scotland) we built a Bridge of Boats over *Severn*, between it and *Tame*, about half a Mile from *Worcester*, and another over *Tame* within Pistol-shot of our other Bridge: Lieutenant-General Fleetwood and Major-General Dean marched from *Upton*, on the South-West Side of *Severn*, up to *Powick*, a Town which was a Pass the Enemy kept. We passed over some Horse and Foot, and were in Conjunction with the Lieutenant-General's Forces. We beat the Enemy from Hedge to Hedge, till we beat him into *Worcester*: The Enemy then drew all his Forces on the other Side the Town, all but what he lost, and made a very considerable Fight with us for Three Hours Space; but in the End we beat him totally, and pursued him up to his Royal Fort, which we took, and indeed have beaten his whole Army. When we took the Fort we turned his own Guns upon him. The Enemy hath had great Loss, and certainly is scattered and run several Ways. We are in pursuit of him, and have laid Forces in several Places, that we hope will gather him up. Indeed this hath been a very glorious Mercy, and as stiff a Contest for four or five Hours as ever I have seen; both your old Forces and those new raised, have behaved themselves with very great Courage, and he that made them come out, made them willing to fight for you. The Lord God Almighty

‘ mighty frame our Hearts to real Thankfulness
 ‘ for this which is alone his own doing. I hope I
 ‘ shall, within a Day or two, give you a more per-
 ‘ fect Account. In the mean Time I hope you will
 ‘ pardon,

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 September.

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

For this most remarkable Instance of Success the Parliament ordered a Thanksgiving to Almighty God the next Lord's Day, till another could be appointed, to be observed throughout the Nation.

Sept. 6. Major *Cobbet*, who was sent by the General from *Worcester*, gave the House a farther Account of the Battle near that City: He also produced a Collar of S S, which was the King of *Scots*, and his Garter; which the said Officer took in the King's Quarters at *Worcester*; and presented a second Letter from the Lord-General to the Speaker, which was *in hæc Verba*:^e

S I R,

Worcester, Sept. 4, 1651.

‘ I Am not able yet to give you an exact Ac-
 ‘ count of the great Things the Lord hath
 ‘ wrought for this Commonwealth, and for his
 ‘ People, and yet I am unwilling to be silent; but,
 ‘ according to my Duty, shall represent it to you
 ‘ as it comes to Hand: This Battle was fought
 ‘ with various Success for some Hours, but still
 ‘ hopeful on your Part; and in the End became an
 ‘ absolute Victory, and so full a one as proved
 ‘ a total Defeat and Ruin of the Enemy's Army,
 ‘ a Possession of the Town, (our Men entering at
 ‘ the Enemies Heels, and fighting with them in
 ‘ the Streets with very great Courage) and of all
 ‘ their Baggage and Artillery. What the Slain
 ‘ are

^e This and the foregoing Letter from *Cromwell* are taken from the original Edition, printed by *John Field*, by Order of the House.

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‘ are I can give you no Account, because we
 ‘ have not taken an exact View; but they are very
 ‘ many, and must needs be so, because the Dis-
 ‘ pute was long and very near at Hand, and often
 ‘ at Push of Pike, and from one Defence to an-
 ‘ other.

‘ There are about 6 or 7000 Prisoners taken here,
 ‘ and many Officers and Noblemen of very great
 ‘ Quality; Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Roths*,
 ‘ and divers other Noblemen; I hear the Earl of
 ‘ *Lauderdale*, many Officers of great Quality, and
 ‘ some that will be fit Subjects of your Justice.

‘ We have sent very considerable Parties after
 ‘ the flying Enemy; I hear they have taken con-
 ‘ siderable Numbers of Prisoners, and are very
 ‘ close in the Pursuit: Indeed, I hear, the Coun-
 ‘ try riseth upon them every where, and I believe
 ‘ the Forces that lye, through Providence, at *Bewd-*
 ‘ *ley*, and in *Shropshire* and *Staffordshire*, and those
 ‘ with Colonel *Lilburn*, were in a Condition, as
 ‘ if this had been foreseen, to intercept what should
 ‘ return.

‘ A more particular Account than this will be
 ‘ prepared for you as we are able. I heard they
 ‘ had not many more then 1000 Horse in their
 ‘ Body that fled. I believe you have near 4000
 ‘ Forces following and interposing between them
 ‘ and home.

‘ Their Army was about 16,000 strong, and
 ‘ fought ours on *Worcester* Side of *Severn* almost
 ‘ with their Whole, whilst we had engaged half our
 ‘ Army on the other Side but with Parties of theirs.
 ‘ Indeed it was a stiff Business, yet I do not think
 ‘ we have lost 200 Men. Your new-raised Forces
 ‘ did perform singular good Service, for which
 ‘ they deserve a very high Estimation and Acknow-
 ‘ ledgement, as also for their Willingness there-
 ‘ unto, forasmuch as the same hath added so much
 ‘ to the Reputation of your Affairs; they are all
 ‘ dispatched home again, which, I hope, will be
 ‘ much for the Ease and Satisfaction of the Coun-
 ‘ try, which is a great Fruit of these Successes.

‘ The

‘ The Dimensions of this Mercy are above my
 ‘ Thoughts, it is, for ought I know, a crowning
 ‘ Mercy; surely if it be not, such a one we shall
 ‘ have, if this provoke those that are concerned
 ‘ in it to Thankfulness, and the Parliament to do
 ‘ the Will of him who hath done his Will for it
 ‘ and for the Nation, whose good Pleasure it is to
 ‘ establish the Nation and the Change of the Go-
 ‘ vernment, by making the People so willing to
 ‘ the Defence thereof, and so signally to bless the
 ‘ Endeavours of your Servants in this late great
 ‘ Work. I am bold humbly to beg, that all
 ‘ Thoughts may tend to the promoting of his
 ‘ Honour, who hath wrought so great Salvation;
 ‘ and that the Fatness of these continued Mercies
 ‘ may not occasion Pride and Wantonness, as for-
 ‘ merly the like hath done to a chosen Nation;
 ‘ but that the Fear of the Lord, even for his Mer-
 ‘ cies, may keep an Authority and a People so pro-
 ‘ spered and blessed, and witnessed unto, humble
 ‘ and faithful; and that Justice and Righteousness,
 ‘ Mercy and Truth, may flow from you as a
 ‘ thankful Return to our gracious God; this shall
 ‘ be the Prayer of,

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 1651.
 September.

S I R,

Your most humble and

obedient Servant,

O. CROMWELL:

P. S. ‘ Your Officers behaved themselves
 ‘ with much Honour in this Service, and the Per-
 ‘ son who is the Bearer hereof was equal in the
 ‘ Performance of his Duty to most that served you
 ‘ that Day.

After reading this Letter the House appointed
 the second of *October* ensuing to be kept as a Day
 of Thanksgiving throughout *England*, *Ireland*, and
 even *Scotland* too. They likewise resolved to dine
 together, on that Day, after Sermon, at the Ban-
 queting-

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For which the
House appoint a
Day of Thankf-
giving,

And send a De-
putation to com-
pliment him on
his great Victory.

queting-House in *Whitehall*; and the Council of State were ordered to provide a Dinner accordingly^f. The House went still further in this Thanksgiving than ever they had done before, by ordering in an Act not only to set apart the said Day, but also to appoint an annual Commemoration of this Victory on the third of *September*, for Time to come. A Deputation, consisting of two Commissioners of the Great Seal, Mr. *Lisle* and Mr. *Whitlocke*, with the Lord Chief Justice *St. John* and Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, were appointed to go and compliment the General on this Occasion; and it was referred to a Committee to consider of somewhat to be done by the Parliament, as a Testimony of their thankful Acceptance of the great and faithful Services performed by the Lord-General. In the mean Time, Apartments were ordered to be fitted up for him in *Hampton-Court*; and the Council of State were empower'd to give such reasonable Gratuities as they should think proper to the Persons who gave Intelligence to the Parliament's Forces of the Enemy's Transactions at *Worcester*.

Sept. 9. This Day the Commissioners appointed to wait upon the General, being ready to set out, the House delivered to them the following Instructions:

September 9, 1651.

‘ **Y**OU are, in the Name of the Parliament, to
‘ congratulate his Lordship's good Reco-
‘ very of Health, after his dangerous Sicknefs; and
‘ to take Notice of his unwearied Labours and
‘ Pains in the late Expedition into *Scotland*, for the
‘ Service of this Commonwealth; of his Diligence
‘ in Prosecution of the Enemy, when he fled into
‘ *England*; of the great Hardships and Hazards he
‘ hath

^f The Thanksgiving-Day was afterwards postponed to the 24th, for which this Reason was assigned, That otherwise there could not be Notice timely enough for all the Three Nations to observe it on the same Day. The Order for appointing a Dinner for the Parliament was also afterwards revoked.—We have frequent Instances, about this Time, of Resolutions passed one Month being set aside the next.

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‘ hath expos’d himself to, and particularly at the
‘ late Fight at *Worcester*; of the prudent and
‘ faithful managing and conducting throughout this
‘ great and impartial Affair, which the Lord from
‘ Heaven hath so signally blest’d, and crowned
‘ with so compleat and glorious an Issue. Of all
‘ which, you are to make known to his Lordship,
‘ the Parliament have thought fit, by you, to cer-
‘ tify their good Acceptance and great Satisfaction
‘ therein: And for the same you are to return, in
‘ the Name of the Parliament and Commonwealth
‘ of *England*, their most hearty Thanks: As also
‘ to the rest of the Officers and Soldiers, for their
‘ great and gallant Services done to this Common-
‘ wealth.

‘ You are likewise to let his Lordship know that
‘ since, by the great Blessing of God upon his Lord-
‘ ship’s and the Army’s Endeavours, the Enemy is
‘ so totally defeated, and the State of Affairs, as
‘ well in *England* as *Scotland*, such, as may very
‘ well dispense with his Lordship’s Continuance in
‘ the Field; they do desire his Lordship, for the
‘ better Settlement of his Health, to take such Rest
‘ and Repose as he shall find most requisite and
‘ conducing thereunto: And for that Purpose to
‘ make his Repair to, and Residence at or with-
‘ in, some few Miles of this Place, whereby al-
‘ so the Parliament may have the Assistance of
‘ his Presence, in the great and important Consul-
‘ tations for the further Settlement of this Com-
‘ monwealth, which they are now upon.’

Mr. *Whitlocke* gives us the following Result of
this Embassy: ‘ That they met the General near
Aylesbury, delivered their Message, and he receiv’d
them with all Kindness and Respect: That he
gave each of them a Horse and two *Scots* Prisoners,
as a Token of his thankful Reception of the Par-
liament’s Regard in sending them to meet and con-
gratulate him.’ A *Journalist* of these Times

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D

adds,

§ *Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres*, published, in *French*, by Au-
thority of the Council of State, No. 64.

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adds, 'That *Cromwell* was met, at *Aston*, by the Speaker, the Lord President *Bradshaw*, many Members of Parliament and the Council of State, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of *London*: That he enter'd the City in a Coach of State, and was receiv'd with all possible Acclamations of Joy.' 'All which, says Mr. *Ludlow*, tended not a little to heighten the Spirit of this haughty Gentleman.'

Rewards voted,
by Parliament,
to the Officers of
their Army.

'The *English* Army in *Scotland*, which *Cromwell* had left behind him, under the Command of Major-General *Lambert*, Lieutenant-General *Moncke*, Commissary-General *Whalley*, Colonel *Okey*, and Colonel *Alured*, had made great Conquests in that Kingdom; whereupon the House, on the 9th of this Month, ordered Lands of Inheritance, to the Value of 1000*l.* *per Annum*, to be settled on *Lambert*; 500*l.* on *Moncke* and *Whalley*; 300*l.* on *Okey*; and 200*l.* on *Alured*, for their great and eminent Services to the Commonwealth. Some Time after they voted Lands of 1000*l.* *per Annum* to Lord *Grey of Groby*; 500*l.* to Commissary-General *Reynolds*; 100*l.* to Major *Cobbet*, who brought up the King's Collar of SS and Garter; and 100*l.* to Colonel *Joyce*, who seiz'd upon his late Majesty's Person at *Holdenby*.

And to shew the *Scots* Nation that the *English* were resolved to keep what they had conquer'd in that Kingdom, the House ordered a Bill to be brought in, *For asserting the Right of England to so much of Scotland as is now under the Power of their Forces, and to settle it under the Government of this Commonwealth.*

Sept. 10. The following Proclamation was issued out *For the Discovery and Apprehending of Charles Stuart, and other Traitors, his Adherents, and Abettors.*

A Proclamation
of 1000*l.* Re-
ward for appre-
hending the
King's Person.

'**W**Hereas *Charles Stuart*, Son to the late Tyrant, with divers of the *English* and *Scots* Nation, have lately, in a traiterous and ho-

'*File*

‘file Manner, with an Army, invaded this Nation; which, by the Blessing of God upon the Forces of this Commonwealth, have been defeated, and many of the chief Actors therein slain and taken Prisoners; but the said *Charles Stuart* hath escaped:

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‘For the speedy apprehending of such a malicious and dangerous Traitor to the Peace of this Commonwealth, the Parliament doth strictly charge and command all Officers, as well Civil as Military, and all other the good People of this Nation, that they make diligent Search and Inquiry for the said *Charles Stuart*, and his Abettors and Adherents in this Invasion, and use their best Endeavours for the Discovery and Arresting the Bodies of them and every of them; and, being apprehended, to bring, or cause to be brought, forthwith, and without Delay, in safe Custody, before the Parliament or Council of State, to be proceeded with and ordered as Justice shall require.

‘And if any Person shall, knowingly, conceal the said *Charles Stuart*, or any of his Abettors or Adherents, or shall not reveal the Places of their Abode or Being, if it be in their Power so to do, the Parliament doth declare that they will hold them as Partakers and Abettors of their traitorous wicked Practices and Designs.

‘And the Parliament doth further publish and declare, That whosoever shall apprehend the Person of the said *Charles Stuart*, and shall bring, or cause him to be brought, to the Parliament or Council of State, shall have given and bestowed on him or them, as a Reward for such Service, the Sum of 1000*l*.

‘And all Officers, Civil and Military, are required to be aiding and assisting unto such Person and Persons therein.

Given at Westminster this 10th of September, 1651.

HENRY SCOBELL, *Cler. Parl.*

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The same Day it was referred to the Council of State to consider of such Prisoners, as well *English* as *Scots*, as were fit to be made Examples of public Justice; and to give such Direction for securing and disposing of the rest, as might be most for the Safety of the Nation. An Act for continuing the High Court of Justice to the last Day of *December* next, was also ordered in immediately.

The Parliament having already rewarded some of their Officers in the *Scots* Wars, they now thought proper to regard their Commander in Chief. Accordingly, on the 11th of this Month, they resolv'd that Lands of Inheritance, to the yearly Value of 4000 *l.* belonging to the State, [besides 2500 *l. per Ann.* formerly granted] be settled upon the Lord-General *Cromwell* and his Heirs, as a Mark of Favour from the Parliament, for his great and eminent Services to the Commonwealth. Likewise 2000 *l.* yearly Rent, was ordered to be settled on *Henry Ireton*, Esq; Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, *Cromwell's* Son-in-Law. Mr. *Ludlow* writes, 'That when the News of this Grant was brought over to *Ireton*, it was so unacceptable to him, that he said, 'The Parliament 'had many just Debts, which he desired they 'would pay before they made any such Presents; 'that he had no Need of their Land, and therefore 'would not have it; and that he should be more 'contented to see them doing the Service of the 'Nation, than so liberal in disposing of the Public 'Treasure. ^h

The same Day, *Sept. 11*, a Letter from Major-General *Harrison*, to the Speaker, was read:

S I R, *Preslon, 7th Day of the 7th Month.*

Several Letters relating to the Pursuit of the *Scots* Army after the Battle of *Worcester*, &c.

' I Make no Question but you have had a large
' Account, from my Lord General, of the Mer-
' cy at *Worcester*, which was very eminent, and as

' a

‘ a Crown to all the Lord vouchsafed us formerly. Inter-regnum.
 ‘ The Battle being turned by our God, it pleased 1651.
 ‘ his Excellency to appoint me the Pursuit; and
 ‘ having a little breathing Time, I judge it my
 ‘ Duty to give you the best Account I can of the
 ‘ Lord’s Goodness to us therein, which I have
 ‘ duly dispatched to his Excellency by Letter, or
 ‘ some Officer, as I could for Time. September.

‘ And I conceive he hath transmittted to you all,
 ‘ that is yet come to him, considerable: And
 ‘ therefore I shall not trouble you much with the
 ‘ Passages of the Evening and Night of the third
 ‘ Instant, and the Day following, wherein were
 ‘ taken and slain in the Pursuit (and so dispersed
 ‘ that the Country might bring them in) at least
 ‘ 2000 Horse and Foot, according to our best Guess;
 ‘ and amongst them the Earls of *Derby*, *Cleveland*,
 ‘ *Lauderdale*, and other considerable Officers.

‘ On the fifth Day of the Month we had Intel-
 ‘ ligence that the Enemy divided and took three
 ‘ Ways, and accordingly I divided the Forces with
 ‘ me. Appointing Colonel *Sanders*, with his Re-
 ‘ giment, to the Pursuit of those that might take
 ‘ through *Derbyshire* and *Yorkshire*; Colonel *Blun-*
 ‘ *del*, and Colonel *Barton*, with 800 Horse, and
 ‘ four or five Troops of Dragoons, to *Manchester*
 ‘ ward; and fourteen Troops of Horse to *War-*
 ‘ *rington*; and so onward on that Hand with whom
 ‘ I kept: Giving the Colonels Directions (and
 ‘ taking the same Course also myself) to keep out
 ‘ commanded Parties of the ablest Horse close after
 ‘ the Enemy, while our Troops follow as they
 ‘ can.

‘ A Party of the Enemy, of about 500, passed
 ‘ over into *Lancashire*, at *Hollin Ferry* near *War-*
 ‘ *rington* (the Bridge being kept against them) of
 ‘ whom we had the Pursuit Yesterday; and, be-
 ‘ tween that and *Lancaster*, took about 300 Horse,
 ‘ and amongst them the Viscount *Kenmuir* and his
 ‘ Brother, and Colonel *Hume*, with many confi-
 ‘ derable Officers.

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‘ Those that escaped of this Party are so scattered,
 ‘ that the Country People will bring them in; I
 ‘ having before sent to the Commissioners, that
 ‘ the Country People might get together in their
 ‘ several Divisions and Hundreds, with what Arms
 ‘ they had for that Purpose.

‘ Just now I am informed of 100 more taken
 ‘ near *Bolton* Yesterday, and 60 rendered them-
 ‘ selves Prisoners to Capt. *Carter* and Capt. *Ellas-*
 ‘ *ter*, of my Lord General’s Regiment of Foot.

‘ The greatest Body that is left of the Enemy,
 ‘ being about 1000, I find is turned off some Way
 ‘ towards *Yorkshire*; but I hope some of the afore-
 ‘ mentioned Parties will light on them, the Work
 ‘ being, through the Lord’s Goodness to us, so well
 ‘ over this Way. I am crossing the Country to
 ‘ *Skipton*, to fall in with them also, to do further
 ‘ upon the Remainder of the Enemy, as the Lord
 ‘ shall give Strength to our Forces, and minister
 ‘ Opportunity.

‘ The commanded Party that pursued on this
 ‘ Road (drawn out of Colonel *Riche*’s, Colonel
 ‘ *Lilburne*’s, Colonel *Barton*’s, and my own Re-
 ‘ giment) having most of them reached *Lancaster*
 ‘ the last Night, I hasten what may be towards
 ‘ *Appulby*, that they may join with what fresh Horse
 ‘ the Governor of *Carlisle* can raise, and attend
 ‘ what Providence may offer; not knowing (tho’
 ‘ none of the Enemy be on this Road in their Van)
 ‘ but that some may dribble down that Way: Gi-
 ‘ ving them also Directions to get up to *Hexham*,
 ‘ with what Speed may be, where, possibly, they
 ‘ may get the Van of the Enemy, and be very
 ‘ useful to encourage the Country to rise before
 ‘ them.

‘ They are, undoubtedly, at a great Loss, and
 ‘ we have great Reason to hope few or none of
 ‘ them will escape out of *England*; and, if any do,
 ‘ I hope our Friends in *Scotland* (having had time-
 ‘ ly Notice of this Mercy) will be in a good Rea-
 ‘ diness to receive them.

‘ The

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‘ The Lord grant that the Parliament (whom he
‘ hath thus further honoured, and owned in the
‘ Eyes of all the World) may improve this Mercy,
‘ intrusted to their Management, according to
‘ the Will of God, in establishing the Ways of
‘ Righteousness and Justice yet more; relieving of
‘ the Oppressed, and opening a wide Door to the
‘ publishing of the everlasting Gospel of our only
‘ Lord and Saviour, who is worthy to be loved, ho-
‘ noured, exalted, and admired by all his People;
‘ and it will be so, through the Spirit that he will
‘ give them, and all his Enemies shall be made
‘ his Footstool. I commend you to his free Grace,
‘ which is exceeding abundant towards his poor
‘ People; remaining,

Your most humble Servant,

T. HARRISON.

After reading the foregoing Letter, Mr. Scott, Some of the ca-
pital Prisoners from the Council of State, reported to the House ordered to be
tried. the Names of those Persons they thought proper to be made Examples of Justice, which were these; James Earl of Derby, Col. Edward Massey, Duke of Hamilton, John Earl of Lauderdale, the Earl of Cleveland, Capt. Benbow, Sir Timothy Featherstonhaugh, also Thomas Licence and James Bridges, the one Mayor, and the other Sheriff, of Worcester. These were all ordered to be tried by Courts Martial, in different Places.

The State, at this Time, had a Regard, we find, to retrench their great Expences, and ease the Public somewhat of that monstrous Tax of 120,000 l. a Month. Accordingly they had directed a List of all the Garrisons in England, and the several Forces in the Field, to be laid before them, in order to the disbanding Part thereof: And this Day the same was brought in by the Persons commissioned for that Purpose. The Particulars at large are enter'd in the Journals, but are too tedious to be recited.

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Sept. 12. This Day two Letters to the Speaker were read in the House; the one from Dr. Clerk, relating to the Progress of the Parliament's Forces in Scotland, and the other from Col. Birche, in consequence of the late Defeat at Worcester.

S I R,

Dundee, Sept. 5, 1651.

‘ THE Success of the *English* Forces at Dundee, appears yet every Day more considerable; I have sent a List inclosed of such Prisoners of Quality as are yet discoveredⁱ, many of them being concealed as private Soldiers.

‘ There were 1500 upon the Line when we storm'd; and now we come to bury the Dead, which is not yet fully done, we find that there were near 800 kill'd. The Spoil is like to prove very great; were you here you would not know a private Soldier from an Officer, divers of them having got gallant Apparel. Though we are not yet settled here, yet this little wee Bit of an Army will not be idle: If you send us more Men, and some Money too for Encouragement, we doubt not but, thro' God's Assistance, we shall do much more before Winter, and get Footing six Score Miles further into the Highlands.

‘ This Day a strong Party of Horse was sent to Montrose, a Port-Town about twenty-four Miles hence, by whom the Lieutenant-General hath sent a Summons, having Intelligence that the Enemy were preparing to garrison the Town.

‘ Some Gentlemen of Quality hereabouts have sent their Submissions to the Power of the Parliament of *England*, and seem to be free both as to Contribution and Assistance; yet we shall not trust them further than we see them. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

WILLIAM CLERK.

ⁱ As the Names of the most considerable Prisoners are particularized in the succeeding *Narrative*, the Lists of them, mentioned in this and the following Letter, are purposely omitted.

S I R,

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S I R, Newcastle, Sept. 9, 1651.

Several Parties of the Enemy's Horse flying this Way upon their Defeat at *Worcester*, the Country generally rose against them, and brought them Prisoners to the next Towns.

And having Notice of many considerable Persons taken hereabouts, I came hither Yesternight; and to those brought into *Liverpool* have added, in the inclosed List; such as I found there.

There are several other Towns, as *Warrington*, *Preston*, and *Wigan*, where Prisoners are; and the Account of the Commanders there I yet have not; and besides them, in these several Places, there are not less than 1000 or 1200 common Soldiers.

I think the Scots King came this Day with Lieutenant-General *Lesley* and Lieutenant-General *Middleton*, who were taken on *Blackstone-Edge*, in the Moors between *Rochdale* and *Halifax*; and we believe that he escaped towards *Yorkshire*, in some Disguise.

All Search is made for him here, that may be, amongst the Prisoners, but he cannot be heard of.

Sir, I was desirous to give you this Account, which is all your present Trouble from

Your most obliged and most humble Servant,

THO. BIRCHE.

Sept. 16. This Day the Parliament's victorious General, *Cromwell*, appear'd in the House; when the Speaker, in their Name, made an eloquent Oration, as the *Journals* express it, to him; and gave him their hearty Thanks for his great Services to the Commonwealth. And the same Day he was most splendidly entertained at *Merchant-Taylors-Hall*, by the Lord Mayor.

Upon the Return of the General, we find that the Bill for an equal Representative in Parliament was briskly revived; for it was, this Day, ordered

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to be taken into Debate the next Morning, and nothing to intervene.

Accordingly, *Sept. 17*, it was made the Subject almost of this whole Day; but nothing further is entered about it, than that it was adjourned to this Day Se'nnight; and then the Report to be made to the House of it, the first Business.

The same Day the *Scots* Prisoners were brought to *London*, and march'd thro' the City into *Tethill-Fields*; the Lord *Grandison*, and some other *English* Officers of Quality, being discovered amongst them. The Earls of *Cleveland*, *Derby*, and *Lauderdale*, and the Mayor and Sheriff of *Worcester*, were ordered by the House to a speedy Trial.

The Parliament also resolved to appoint an Humiliation to be kept in the House on the 23d, to seek, from Almighty God, Counsel and Assistance for making a right Improvement of the great Mercies he had shewn to this Nation, and doing those Things which might most conduce to his Glory, and the Settlement and Good of the Commonwealth.—Which was observed on that Day, with the usual Solemnity.

A Bill ordered in, for fixing a Period to the present Parliament and calling another.

The two next Days were almost wholly employed in debating the grand Point of a new Representative; on the latter of which the Question being put, That a Bill be brought in for setting a Time certain for the Sitting of this Parliament, and for calling a new one, with such fit Rules, Qualifications, Proportions, and other Circumstances, as this Parliament shall think fit, and shall be for the Good and Safety of this Commonwealth, the House divided, and the Yeas went forth; when the Lord-General and Mr. *Scott*, the Tellers of them, brought in the Numbers 33; Sir *Henry Mildmay* and Sir *James Harrington* for the Noes, 26; on which the Bill was ordered in, and a Committee appointed for that Purpose.

Sept. 26. This Day an Act For setting apart the 24th of October, 1651, for a Day of public Thanksgiving,

giving, together with a Narrative declaring the Grounds and Reasons thereof, was read a third Time, passed, and ordered to be printed and published, as follows :

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THE Works of Providence, by which the Lord hath pleaded the Cause of this Parliament and Commonwealth in the Sight of the Nations round about, are glorious, and will be sought out by all those that have Pleasure in them; and therefore must not pass under the common Title of Events and Chances of War, the Lord having so done this marvellous Work for Time and Place, with a Concurrence of all other remarkable Circumstances, that it ought to be had in everlasting Remembrance, both by ourselves, and by the Generations which shall be born.

An Act appointing a Thanksgiving Day for the Parliament's great Successes, with a Narrative of the Particulars thereof.

After the Lord, the great and righteous Judge of Heaven and Earth, was pleased so signally to bear Witness to the Justice and Necessity of our Army's marching into *Scotland*, by giving Sentence (when solemn Appeals were made unto him by both Parties) on our Side, in that glorious Victory vouchsafed unto our Army, *Sept. 3, 1650*, against the *Scots* near *Dunbar* : The same Divine Providence led on our Forces there to the gaining of many Towns and Garrisons, &c.

On the 22d of *August*, about Noon, the Enemy, with 500 Horse and Dragoons, enter'd *Worcester*, than which no Place seemed more to answer all his Ends ; it being a City seated on the *Severn*, within twelve Miles of five Counties, near unto *Gloucester*, the Forest of *Dean*, and *South-Wales*, where *Massey* (who was a little before called off from the Earl of *Derby* to serve this Design) pretended his greatest Interest to be ; and, by gaining that Place, the Enemy well knew he should be Master of all the Passes upon the *Severn*, from *Shrewsbury* to *Gloucester* ; and (there not being 100 of the Parliament's Forces within twenty Miles of him) he might lie the more se-

cure

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' cure for refreshing his wearied Men, employ his
 ' Interest to get what additional Strength he could
 ' from those Parts, or at least make it a Winter
 ' War; and thereby gain Time for foreign Assist-
 ' ance, and better Opportunity for his Agents to
 ' stir up Tumults in *England*, and for the raising
 ' a new Army in *Scotland* under the Earl of *Leven*,
 ' (whom he had left General there for that Pur-
 ' pose) to come also into *England*. Our Forces in
 ' *Worcester* being few, and finding the Place unte-
 ' nable, (though 60 only of them beat the Enemy
 ' twice out of the Town, and killed and wounded
 ' some of them) withdrew in Safety to *Gloucester*.
 ' The General with his Forces (which on the 3d
 ' of *August* were at *St. Johnston*, in *Scotland*) up-
 ' on the 28th of the same Month, with a continued
 ' March, except one Day's Rest, took up his Head
 ' Quarters within two Miles, on the East Side, of
 ' *Worcester*, being from *St. Johnston* about 300
 ' Miles, the rest of the Forces which had hitherto
 ' attended the Enemy being joined with him. The
 ' Lieutenant-General, with the Forces under him,
 ' quartered the same Day about seven Miles from
 ' *Worcester*, near *Upton* Bridge, of which Pass the
 ' Enemy was possessed; and in *Upton* Town, on
 ' the other Side the River, was Major-General
 ' *Masse*, with 60 Dragoons and 200 Horse to se-
 ' cure it, whilst a small Party of ours went to view
 ' the Bridge, without Design or Expectation at that
 ' Time to gain the Pass; but finding the Bridge
 ' broken down by the Enemy, (one Piece of Tim-
 ' ber only left, which reached from one Arch to
 ' another) 20 Dragoons and dismounted Troopers
 ' with Carbines, being commanded over to possess
 ' the Church near the Bridge, crept over the Piece
 ' of Timber, and got to the Church; whereupon
 ' the Enemy took the Alarm, advanced towards
 ' them, offered them Quarter, and were attempt-
 ' ing to fire the Door; mean while 100 Dragoons
 ' more came up, and, in like Manner, got over
 ' and beat off the Enemy, whose whole Party was
 ' now come down upon them; in which Action
 ' Major-

Major-General *Maffey* had his Horse kill'd under him; himself received several Shots, and was wounded, and forced to retreat with his Party, in Disorder, towards *Worcester*. The Lord having been pleased, thus unexpectedly and happily, to give us this Pass, the Lieutenant-General marched over, and lodg'd Part of his Forces that Night at *Upton*.

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Whilst the General was on his March from *Scotland*, he sent off Col. *Lilburne* with his Regiment of Horse to wait upon the Enemy's Rear; who finding the Earl of *Derby* raising Forces in *Lancashire*, in his endeavouring to prevent him was forced to engage; where the Lord was graciously pleased, by that Regiment of Horse (tho' harraßed by a tedious March from *Scotland*) and three Companies of Foot, to defeat the Earl of *Derby's* whole Forces, being 1500 Horse and Foot, near *Wigan* in *Lancashire*; where were slain Sir *William Widdrington*, Major-General, Sir *Thomas Tildsley*, Col. *Boynton*, (sometime Governor of *Scarborough* for the Parliament, which Place he betrayed to the Enemy) and Col. *Trollop*; and 400 taken Prisoners, together with Sir *William Throckmorton*, Sir *Timothy Featherstonhaugh*, and several Colonels and Commanders of Quality; the Earl of *Derby*, with about 30 Horse, escaping, carried the News of his own Defeat to *Worcester*. In which Mercy the Lord was graciously pleased to appear for our small Forces, (who were engag'd upon great Disadvantages of Place and Number, beyond their Intentions) and that most seasonably, in destroying that growing Army, and giving up the same, as a Pledge of what he would yet do for his People.

These glad Tidings were followed by the News from *Scotland* of the Surrender of *Stirling-Castle*, in which were many Thousand Arms, 40 Pieces of Ordnance, 26 Barrels of Powder, the public Records of *Scotland*, the Sword, Cloth, and Chair of State.

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‘ Not long after this followed the Routing of the
 ‘ new Levies of the Enemy in the West of Scotland;
 ‘ taking the Lord *Ormiston* and other Prisoners;
 ‘ the gaining *Anstruther* by Storm, with 15 Ships
 ‘ in the Harbour; the surprizing the Earl of *Leven*,
 ‘ General of their Forces in *Scotland*; the Earl of
 ‘ *Crawford* and *Lindsay*, Lieutenant-General; the
 ‘ Earl Marshal, with four Lords more, and divers
 ‘ Knights, Ministers, and Gentlemen of Quality;
 ‘ with the scattering and dispersing 4000, which at
 ‘ that Time were rendezvoused at *Ellit* in *Perth*,
 ‘ to relieve *Dundee*, then besieged by our Forces;
 ‘ the taking many Prisoners at *Dumfries*, and dis-
 ‘ sipating them, attempting again new Levies there;
 ‘ and the gaining *Dundee* itself by Storm, in which
 ‘ were 40 Pieces of Ordnance, 600 of the Enemy
 ‘ slain, with Major-General *Lumsden*, the Gover-
 ‘ nor, Col. *Cunningham*, late Governor of *Stirling*,
 ‘ and many others of Quality; 400 taken Prisoners;
 ‘ great Store of Ships and other Vessels found in
 ‘ the Harbour; to which was added the Giving-up
 ‘ of *St. Andrew’s*, *Montrofs*, and *Aberdeen*.

‘ On *Saturday, Aug. 23*, the Scots King with his
 ‘ whole Army marched into *Worcester*, and applied
 ‘ himself to the fortifying thereof, and had soon
 ‘ made up some Works, and repaired the Royal
 ‘ Fort on the East Side of the City, and planted
 ‘ Cannon upon it, the General being encamp’d be-
 ‘ fore the Town.

‘ On the 3d of *September* (being the self-same
 ‘ Day of the Month upon which, a Year before,
 ‘ we obtained that memorable Victory at *Dunbar*)
 ‘ our Forces at *Upton*, under the Command of
 ‘ the Lieutenant-General, in pursuance of former
 ‘ Councils, (the Execution whereof Providence had
 ‘ delayed till this Day, without any such Pre-deter-
 ‘ mination on our Part) advanced towards the En-
 ‘ my at *Worcester*; but, by reason of some Hinder-
 ‘ ances, reached not to *Tame River* (which, lying
 ‘ on the West Side of the *Severn*, empties itself
 ‘ thereinto about a Mile beneath *Worcester*) till be-
 ‘ tween Two and Three o’Clock in the Afternoon,

‘ Boats

Boats being also brought up at the same Time, two Bridges were made over the Rivers. The Enemy, taking no Alarm till the Van of our Forces were march'd within Sight of the Town, did now draw down his Horse and Foot from his Leaguer at *St. John's*, lining all the Hedges, from their Pass at *Powick* to the River *Severn*, with Musketeers to oppose our Advance. The General commanded some Forces over the *Severn* towards the Enemy, whilst others were sent over *Tame* to the same Ground. The Enemy's Foot, with some Difficulty, were beaten from the Hedges, which they for some Time disputed; and were at length driven back to the Body of their Horse and Foot, which was then drawn up in *Wickfield*, near *Powick* Bridge, being the same Field wherein the late King first engaged the Forces of the Parliament, in the same Month of *September*, 1642. Our Horse and Foot marched up with great Resolution to the Enemy's Body, and came to Push of Pike with them; and, through the Goodness of God, drove back and wholly routed them, killing many upon the Place, and pursuing the rest to the Draw-Bridge and Gate of the City. Whilst this was in Action, some Horse and Dragoons, sent to a Pass over *Tame*, about two Miles above *Powick* Bridge, which the Enemy had broken down, gained that Ford; where our Horse passed over, and pursued such of the Enemy's Horse as could not get into the Town, and secured that Bridge at the West Gate, that none might escape that Way.

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The greatest Part of our Army was now drawn over to the West of the *Severn*, where it was conceived the Stress of the Battle would be; which the Enemy perceiving, and supposing them too far engaged to get back over the Bridge of Boats that Night, he poured forth at the several Gates of the City all his Horse and Foot, upon that Part of our Forces left on the East Side of the River; which being seasonably discovered, our General himself hasten'd back to that

Part

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‘ Part of the Army, which the Enemy presently
‘ charged with good Resolution; yet, thro’ the
‘ good Hand of God upon that Part of the Army,
‘ after about two Hours sharp Dispute, they were
‘ beaten back into the Town; and our Men pas-
‘ sing by their great Fort and Cannon, enter’d the
‘ Town with the Enemy, whilst other of our Forces
‘ ran up and storm’d the Royal Fort itself, and pos-
‘ sess’d themselves of it, turning the Cannon upon
‘ the Enemy.

‘ The Scots King fled away; and about 3000
‘ Horse with some Highland Foot, leaving the rest
‘ in the Town, fled towards *Bewaley*, whither
‘ the General sent the Day before 1000 Horse
‘ and Dragoons to secure that Pass, who took more
‘ Prisoners than themselves were in Number; and
‘ many who escap’d them and the Horse sent in
‘ their Pursuit, were met with by other of the Ar-
‘ my and Country Forces, so as they were gathered
‘ up by Hundreds and Fifties, that very few of those
‘ who fled from *Worcester* escaped.

‘ Thus was our gracious God pleased to appear
‘ as *The Lord of Hosts* (which was our Word in
‘ this and the Battle at *Dunbar*) with and for his
‘ People, in destroying this desperate and insolent
‘ Enemy, and working a glorious Salvation for us.
‘ Of the Enemy, which were about 16000 Horse
‘ and Foot, there were slain, in and about *Worcester*
‘ and in the Pursuit, about 3000. The Prisoners
‘ taken in the Town and in their Flight, about
‘ 12,000; amongst whom were the Duke of *Ham-*
‘ *ilton*; the Earls of *Derby*, *Cleveland*, *Roths*, and
‘ *Lauderdale*; the Lords, *Kenmuir*, *Montgomery*,
‘ *Paisley*, *Cranston*, and *Grandison*, with many
‘ other Persons of Quality, &c.

‘ The Parliament taking the Premises into their
‘ serious Consideration, and being exceedingly af-
‘ fected with the glorious Appearances of God for
‘ them, and for all the good People throughout
‘ *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, in vouchsafing
‘ these wonderful and unparallel’d Successes and
‘ Victories to their Armies and Forces (wherein
‘ the

‘ the Forwardness of the Counties to send out their
 ‘ respective Militias, and the Courage and Resolu-
 ‘ tion of their Soldiers, expressed in this Service,
 ‘ by owning this Cause and present Government
 ‘ against the common Enemy, is a Mercy greatly
 ‘ to be acknowledged by us, and receive a lasting
 ‘ Memorial) have thought fit to enact and or-
 ‘ dain, &c. [*in the usual Form.*]

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Having thus given all the most material Circumstances of King *Charles* the Second’s Attempt to recover the Crown of *England*, and of the utter Defeat of the *Scots* Army, from original Letters and Evidences printed by Authority of Parliament, we shall next exhibit a Relation of the late Action at *Worcester*, as drawn up by an Officer of the Royal Party, who was taken Prisoner ^k.

A RELATION of the Defeat of the KING’S Forces at Worcester, Sep. 3^d, 1651.

Chester, Sep. 17, 1651.

‘ **I** Believe you have too soon heard of our Mis-
 ‘ fortunes at *Worcester*, and it is probable there
 ‘ are amongst you some that blame our Proceedings
 ‘ rather than pity us: But if they knew the State
 ‘ of our Master’s Affairs, when he was in *Scotland*
 ‘ and here, they would say otherwise. ’Tis cer-
 ‘ tain *Cromwell* would not fight us in our own
 ‘ Country but with great Advantage to himself,
 ‘ he knowing that our Army lying idle would
 ‘ moulder to nothing, as indeed it had, if his Ma-
 ‘ jesty had not brought them away.

An Account of
 the Action at
Worcester, by an
 Officer of the
 King’s Army.

‘ It consisted of 12,000 fighting Men absolutely
 ‘ under the Command of his Majesty, which be-
 ‘ ing march’d into the Heart of the Kingdom, and
 ‘ possess’d of the City of *Worcester*, might, in Pro-
 ‘ bability, have prov’d a notable Step towards the
 ‘ resettling of this Kingdom, had not God deter-
 ‘ mined otherwise.

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‘ I am

^k From Dr. *Nalson’s MS. Collections*, Vol. XVI, printed in Dr. *Grey’s Appendix to his Examination of Mr. Neale’s 4th Volume of the History of the Puritans.*

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‘ I am fure the King omitted nothing that could encourage the People to rife with him, or at leaft to lie neuter: But on the contrary they arofe (which had they not done, without doubt we had beaten *Cromwell's* Forces, they being inconfiderable) violently againft us, to fuch Numbers as made the Enemy near 40,000. The leaft any of their Officers report them was 36,000, and with this Number they came before us at *Worcefter*, and the City was neither fortified nor victualled.

‘ His Majesty thought he could not, in Honour, leave thofe to be plundered by the Enemy, who had fo willingly received him. During the Enemy’s lying there, the King was very active, and fent out often ftrong Parties; but the Enemy was fo watchful, and lay fo ftrong, that though our Men behav’d courageoufly, they could get no Advantage of them. The Day and Manner of our Fight you may gather from their Letters. His Majesty behav’d very gallantly with his own Regiment of Horfe and Duke of *Hamilton's*. He broke a Regiment of Foot, and forced back a confiderable Body of their Horfe; but at laft our Horfe, being overpower’d, ran away, though the King ftrve to make them ftand.

‘ The King being clofely purfued, and our Men ftopping the Paffage, was forced to quit his Horfe, and climb up our half-raisd Mount, and there fo encouraged the Foot, that the Enemy retired with Lofs. The King perceiving the Enemy too numerous, and our Men worfted, drew them within the Walls, where it was long difputed; then the King taking a freffh Horfe, rode to the Cavalry, with Intention to rally them, and feour the Foot from the Walls: But it was in vain; for *Middleton* was wounded; the chief Horfe Officers difmounted, flain, or I do not know where; *David Leffie* rode up and down as one amazed, or feeking to fly he knew not whither; for they were fo confused that neither Threats nor Intreaties could perfuade them to charge with the King.

‘ What

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‘ What became of his Majesty afterwards I know not: God preserve him, for certainly a more gallant Prince was never born. Towards the Evening all Things look’d very horrid: Alarms in every Part of the City, and a certain Report that the Enemy had entered one End of the Town, and we of the Horse trampling one upon another, much readier to cut one another’s Throats than defend ourselves against the Enemy. In this Confusion, at last, we got out of the Town, and fled as fast as we could; and in the Head of us (as appeared next Morning) were our two Lieutenants General.

‘ We had no Guides, so we often lost our Way, yet reach’d *Newport* by the next Morning, 30 Miles on this Side *Worcester*, and there thought to have refresh’d ourselves and march’d for *Scotland*: But our Enemies flew faster than we, and there wanted not considerable Forces in every Place to front us; and we were so closely pursued in the Day by the Army and Garrison-Forces, and in the Night by the Country, that from the Time we came out of *Worcester*, till *Friday* in the Evening that I was taken Prisoner, seven Miles from *Preston*, I nor my Horse never rested.

‘ Our Body consisted of 3000. In the Day we often faced the Enemy, and beat their little Parties back to their main Body; but still those of us whose Horses tir’d, or were shot, were lost, unless they could run as fast as we rode. In the Night we kept close together, yet some fell asleep on their Horses; or if their Horses staid behind, we might hear by their Cries what the bloody Country People were doing with them.

‘ On *Thursday* Night our Lieutenants General, *Middleton* and *Leslie*, left us, or lost us willingly: But as much Haste as they made, both of them are here Prisoners, with Sir *William Fleming*. I left the Duke of *Hamilton* Prisoner, at my coming out of *Worcester*, being shot in the Leg: He is since dead upon cutting it off. Few or

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' none of the King's Servants are escaped. The
' Earls of *Derby* and *Lauderdale*, and Sir *David*
' *Cunningham* and Mr. *Lane*, are Prisoners here in
' the Castle. Many are Prisoners in private Houses,
' the Church and Castle being full. They carry
' Things so high, that they have even condemn'd
' some Household Servants of Noblemen; so that
' what will become of us I know not.'

We shall conclude this important Crisis of *Eng-*
lish History with a Letter from the Marquis of *Or-*
mond to the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, for an Appli-
cation to the Pope as the last Effort for the King's
Restoration; which we give upon the Authority
of Mr. *Carte* ^m.

A Letter from
the Marquis of
Ormond to the
Marquis of *Clan-*
rickard, in con-
sequence of that
Defeat.

' IF I could have wrote, and you received, daily
' Dispatches since my coming into this King-
dom, they could not till this Instant have given
' you any Advertisements so certain, or of such
' Importance, as I believe you did expect. Nei-
' ther, for ought appears to me, could you have
' had Ground, from any Information, to have va-
' ried from the Course you have held, to the Ap-
' probation of all those from whom you could wish
' or expect it. Yet I have not failed, on my Part,
' to give you those uncertain Notions that came to
' my Hands; however my Endeavours have failed
' of Success, as well in that as in the Assurances I
' knew necessary for you. And though the Con-
' veyance of what I am now to say be almost as
' uncertain as the Subject is certain and sad, yet I
' will do my Part towards your Information, that
' you may do yours for the Safety of yourself, and
' such as have adhered to you.

' It would be too tedious an Aggravation of our
' Misfortune to tell you, with how admirable a
' Wisdom, and with how constant and high a Cou-
' rage, the King overcame all the Difficulties that
' were in his Way to the Trial, wherein it pleased
' God

^m It is printed in his Collection of original Letters, &c. found
among the Duke of *Ormond*'s Papers, published in 1739, Vol. I.
p. 478.

‘ God to give Success to his Enemies : And how
 ‘ proportionable to those Beginnings he carried
 ‘ himself in his long March to *Worcester*, and in
 ‘ the Conflict there, wherein, the $\frac{3}{4}$ of this Month,
 ‘ his whole Army was routed, but himself for that
 ‘ Time escaped : And it is more our Prayers and
 ‘ Withes, than Hope grounded on any human
 ‘ Likelihood, that he may be reserved to be yet the
 ‘ Restorer of the antient Government and Freedom
 ‘ of the *English* Empire and Nation, who are yet
 ‘ unworthy of so excellent a Prince.

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‘ Whilst others entertain you with more Parti-
 ‘ culars of this great Blow, I cannot forbear to ac-
 ‘ quaint you with those Circumstances, that to me
 ‘ make it appear more despairingly, and conclusive
 ‘ to all our Hopes, than perhaps it is apprehended
 ‘ by some. Be pleased to consider, when it may
 ‘ again be reasonably hoped to have a King of
 ‘ *England* at the Head of 20,000 of his own Sub-
 ‘ jects in the Heart of *England*, and to have the
 ‘ Rebels at the same Time employed with two
 ‘ other Armies, the one in *Ireland*, the other in
 ‘ *Scotland*; whether ever such as have professed
 ‘ themselves ready to rise upon a much weaker
 ‘ Countenance, and have failed upon this, will be
 ‘ relied on by any Foreigner; or when it can be
 ‘ hoped, that foreign Princes will be so much at
 ‘ one amongst themselves, and so generous as to
 ‘ assist our King with such an Army : And if they
 ‘ were, will they not find the Rebels much more
 ‘ strong by the Conquest of *Ireland* and *Scotland*,
 ‘ and much more experienced in the Ways of Rule
 ‘ and Government ? And will not the Exceptions
 ‘ taken at the King’s coming with a *Scottish* Power
 ‘ be more obviously taken up against any Foreigner,
 ‘ of what Nation or Religion soever, by those that
 ‘ are weary of Hazards, and indulgent to their Ease,
 ‘ Pleasure, and Profits ? More of these Questions
 ‘ might be ask’d than I take Pleasure to find out :
 ‘ And that it may appear I seek not these to justify
 ‘ any slackening of my Duty to my King, but to
 ‘ be clear in the Discharge of my Thoughts to you,

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‘ for whom I have an inseparable Friendship, I will
 ‘ give you my Conceptions of the remaining Way
 ‘ to be taken by the King.

‘ It is clear to me, that there is neither Power
 ‘ nor Affection strong enough in any of his own
 ‘ Subjects, (at least both cannot be found in any)
 ‘ excluding the Rebels Party, to raise his Cause to
 ‘ a Possibility of being disputed; it must follow,
 ‘ that foreign Assistance must be sought, or else the
 ‘ Cause for the present deserted, and the Rebels left
 ‘ at Rest; from which it may be expected Emula-
 ‘ tions and Ambitions will arise, from thence Di-
 ‘ visions, and out of them an Occasion of setting
 ‘ the Interest of the Crown on Foot again. This
 ‘ I take to be a remote, lazy Speculation, and
 ‘ very near lying in the Dirt, and crying *God help*.
 ‘ God often blesses very improbable Endeavours,
 ‘ but I find not where he promises, or when he
 ‘ hath given, Success to flat Idleness, unless Con-
 ‘ tempt or Misery, which are the proper Fruits of
 ‘ it, may be so call’d. I am therefore clear, that
 ‘ foreign Help is immediately, and thus, to be
 ‘ sought.

‘ All the Princes and States of *Christendom* are
 ‘ at this Instant full of their own Projects, either to
 ‘ enlarge or preserve their Dominions; and I can-
 ‘ not think of any one that is in Plenty. To make
 ‘ Application to them by several Ministers will be
 ‘ certainly tedious and fruitless; and if it were pos-
 ‘ sible for the King to find Means to send so many,
 ‘ (as I see not whence he will have it) they will be
 ‘ looked upon as so many Beggars sent for Gather-
 ‘ ings; and at the last, as such, will be sent away
 ‘ with pitiful Alms, which will be consumed in the
 ‘ Voyages. Therefore to come shortly to what I
 ‘ would be at, wherein you may be concerned, I
 ‘ conceive some one must be found that hath Power,
 ‘ if not with all, yet with most Christian Princes
 ‘ and States. Among the Protestants there is none
 ‘ such, and among the Roman Catholics it is visible
 ‘ the Pope has most of Authority and Persua-
 ‘ sion: And it shall be without Scruple my Ad-
 ‘ vice

‘ vice, and that speedily, that fitting Ministers
‘ may be sent, and apt Inducements proposed to
‘ him for his Interposition, not only with all Princes
‘ and States ———

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The learned Editor gives no Reason for breaking off so abruptly. Whether therefore he had no more of this Letter than what he has printed, or was really possess’d of the whole, but chose to give no more of it, we know not. If the former was the Case, he ought to have said so. If the latter, and his Design was to sink the Marquis’s Advice as to the Means proposed for the King’s Restoration, he has gone too far; since this Fragment only is more than enough to convince any Reader of the Reality of an intended Application to the Pope. It is very strange that this is the only Letter in which we find such an *Hiatus*; and it is not less remarkable that tho’ Mr. Carte has digested the Marquis’s Letters, &c. under their proper Series of Time, and this before us was manifestly wrote in *September*, yet it is placed among the Papers of *May* foregoing; whether by Accident or Design we pretend not to determine.

The Marquis’s Advice for courting the Assistance of the Pope in this shatter’d State of the Royal Cause, a Period when no human Foresight could point out any other Way, was certainly the Result of a desperate Mind, unwilling to lie idle (as he calls it) in his Master’s Cause; and is something similar to a Passage in a Letter from Lord *Byron* at *Chester*, *January* 30, 1643, to the Marquis of *Ormond*, wherein he writes thus, ‘ Since the Re-
‘ bels [*meaning the Parliament*] have call’d in the
‘ *Scots*, I know no Reason why the King should
‘ make any Scruple of calling in the *Irish*, or the
‘ *Turks*, if they will serve him.’^m—It seems as if both these Lords had this Line of the Poet in their Mind when they were writing,

Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo.

Thus

^m Printed at large in Mr. Carte’s Collections, before cited, p. 59.

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Thus much by way of Digression.—We now return to the more immediate Affairs of Parliament.

October 1. The grand Question of fixing a Time for putting an End to the present Parliament being carried in the Affirmative, as before-mentioned, the Bill was ordered to be brought in that Day Se'nnight, and the Committee to sit thereupon every Afternoon at Two o'Clock. Accordingly,

Oct. 8. The Bill was reported to the House, read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading on the 10th, when it was committed to a Grand Committee of the whole House; to sit *de Die in Diem*, with some Intermiſſions, for a Fortnight, on this important Affair.

By a Letter from *Chester*, the Parliament was informed that the Court-Martial there had tried and condemned to Death, *James Earl of Derby*, Sir *Timothy Featherstonhaugh*, and Capt. *John Benbow*, the first of this Month. And, on the 14th, the House received a Letter, by the Speaker, from the Earl; which being put to the Question, to read it or not, was carried in the Affirmative by 22 against 16. So the Letter, with a Petition inclosed, intitled, *The humble Petition of James Earl of Derby*, were both read; but nothing is entered further about them in the *Journals*. However, an Authority before cited informs us^a, 'That the Earl offered to give up the Isle of *Man*, and send the necessary Orders to his Lady and the Governor for that Purpose, on Condition of obtaining his Pardon; and that the Petition was presented by his Son Lord *Strange*.' But the Parliament paid no Regard to this Proposal; for he was beheaded the next Day at *Bolton*, in *Lancashire*; as was Sir *Timothy Featherstonhaugh*, at *Chester*. Capt. *John Benbow* was also shot at *Shrotonbury*. Most of the common Soldiers were sent to the *English Plantations*;

The Earl of Derby and others executed,

^a *Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres*, N^o. 64.

tions; and 1500 of them were granted to the *Guiney* Merchants, and sent to work in the Gold Mines there.

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It may be remembered that Mr. *Love*, a Presbyterian Minister, had been beheaded upon *Tower-Hill*, about three Months before, for High Treason, in holding Correspondence with the King. Several Ministers and others being also at this Time under Prosecution before the High Court of Justice, for the same Offence, Petitions were presented to the House in their Favour: That from Mr. *Jenkin* (who had already suffer'd for his Non-compliance with the Orders of the present Government °; and, by way of Atonement for his former Conduct, thought proper to acknowledge the Establishment of the Commonwealth Government to be *Jure Divino*) is too interesting to be omitted. We shall therefore give it at large, as printed by Order of the House.

*To the Supreme Authority, the PARLIAMENT of the
COMMONWEALTH of England,*

*The HUMBLE PETITION of WILLIAM JENKIN,
Prisoner,*

Most humbly sheweth,

‘ **T**HAT your Petitioner is unfeignedly for-
‘ rowful for all his late Miscarriages, whe-
‘ ther testified against him or acknowledged by
‘ him, and for the great and sinful Unsuitableness
‘ of them to his Calling and Condition.
‘ That upon earnest seeking of God, and dili-
‘ gent inquiring into his Will, your Petitioner is
‘ convinced, that the Alteration of Civil Govern-
‘ ments are ordered by, and founded upon, the
‘ wise and righteous Providences of God, who re-
‘ moveth Kings and setteth up Kings, ruleth in
‘ the Kingdoms of Men, and giveth them to whom-
‘ soever he will :

A Petition to the
House from Mr.
Jenkin, for a Par-
don ;

‘ That

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‘ That the Providences of this God have, in the
 ‘ Judgment of your Petitioner, as evidently ap-
 ‘ peared in the removing of others from, and the
 ‘ investing your Honours with, the Government of
 ‘ this Nation, as ever they appeared in the taking
 ‘ away, or bestowing of, any Government in any
 ‘ History of any Age of the World :

‘ That he apprehends that a Refusal to be sub-
 ‘ ject to this present Authority, under the Pretence
 ‘ of upholding the Title of any one upon Earth, is
 ‘ a Refusal to acquiesce in the wise and righteous
 ‘ Pleasure of God; such an Opposing of the Go-
 ‘ vernment set up by the Sovereign Lord of Hea-
 ‘ ven and Earth, as none can have Peace, either in
 ‘ acting in, or suffering for; and that your Peti-
 ‘ tioner looks upon it as his Duty to yield to this
 ‘ Authority all active and chearful Obedience in
 ‘ the Lord, even for Conscience Sake; to promise
 ‘ (he being required) Truth and Fidelity to it, and
 ‘ to hold forth the Grounds of his so doing to any,
 ‘ as God shall call him thereunto.

‘ That though an Imprisonment, accompanied
 ‘ with the Loss of Estate, and to be followed, with-
 ‘ out your gracious Prevention, with a speedy Ar-
 ‘ raignment before an high and eminent Judica-
 ‘ tory, are far from being pleasing to Flesh and
 ‘ Blood; and though the Enjoyment of your Grace
 ‘ and Favour be a Blessing most deserving to be
 ‘ reckoned amongst the best of Temporals, yet
 ‘ that neither the feeling and fearing of the former,
 ‘ nor the Expectation of the latter, could have in-
 ‘ duced your Petitioner against the Light of his own
 ‘ Judgment, and the prepondering Part of his own
 ‘ Conscience, to have made or presented this Ac-
 ‘ knowledgment; he sadly forecasting, that a whole
 ‘ Skin is but a contemptible Recompence for a
 ‘ wounded Conscience.

‘ That nevertheless, he trusteth, he shall be ex-
 ‘ cuseable in tendering, thus far, even his outward
 ‘ Condition, as to represent to your Honours, that
 ‘ he is in most apparent Danger of his irreparable
 ‘ Loss of his Health, the sweetest of outward Bles-
 ‘ sings,

‘ sings, unless, by your gracious Grant, he may
‘ speedily enjoy a more free and open Air than this
‘ his close Confinement will allow him.

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‘ And this Christian Favour, which even for
‘ *Christ*’s Sake your poor Petitioner most humbly
‘ begs, your Honours are as able to enlarge, even
‘ to a Pardoning of his Offences, and a perfect re-
‘ leasing of him from his Imprisonment, as he is
‘ submissively forward in desiring them, though
‘ confessedly far from deserving them.

‘ He nevertheless promising, that your compas-
‘ sionate affording hereof shall be a strong and
‘ standing Engagement upon him; daily beseeching
‘ the Heart-making and Heart-changing God, that
‘ all those who, either through former Accustom-
‘ edness or present Inadvertency, do not clearly
‘ discern the Mind of God concerning the Altera-
‘ tion of this Government, may (by observing your
‘ prime and pious Industry to advance, through-
‘ out this Commonwealth, the Power of Godli-
‘ ness, a Scripture Reformation, and the Truth as
‘ it is in *Jesus*) be won to a Yielding to your Ho-
‘ nours conscionable Obedience; and not only in
‘ Word, but in Heart and Life, may be true and
‘ faithful to this present Government.

WILL. JENKIN.

The Parliament was so greatly pleased with this high-flown Compliment from one who had hitherto bid Defiance to their Authority, that they resolved that he and all the other Petitioners should be pardoned both for Life and Estate, in respect of their Treasons and other Crimes, and also discharged from Imprisonment and Sequestration.

Which is granted to him and other Prisoners.

The House continued to proceed almost every Day this Month on the Bill for dissolving the present Parliament; but nothing was yet reported from the Committee about it. And the only Law made worth our Notice, was intituled, *An Act for Increase of Shipping, and Encouragement of the Navigation of this Nation*. The Rise and Occasion of this Act has been already mentioned.—As it is in itself very

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An Act pass'd
for Encourage-
ment of Naviga-
tion.

very interesting, and the Passing thereof was the Foundation of the Grand Quarrel that soon after ensued between the Republics of *England* and *Holland*, we shall give an Abstract of every Clause of it. The Preamble sets forth, 'That the Increase of Shipping, and the Encouragement of the Navigation of this Nation, is, under the good Providence and Protection of God, a great Means of the Welfare and Safety of this Commonwealth: And therefore the Parliament enacted, 'That no Goods should be imported from *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*, but in *English* Ships, under the Penalty of Forfeiture of the said Goods and Ship; one Moiety thereof to the Use of the Commonwealth, and the other to the Prosecutor; nor from any Part of *Europe*, except in such Vessels as belong to the People of that Country of which the Goods are the Growth or Manufacture, under the like Penalty: That no Goods of foreign Growth or Manufacture should be imported, but from the Ports where such Goods could only be, or usually had been, first shipp'd for Transportation, under the like Penalty: That no Salt-Fish, Whale-Fins, or Oil should be imported, but what were caught or made by the People of *England*; nor no Salt-Fish to be exported, or carried from one Port to another in this Nation, but in *English* Vessels, under the like Penalty: But Commodities from the *Levant* Seas, the *East-Indies*, the Ports of *Spain* or *Portugal*, might be imported from the usual Ports or Places of trading used heretofore, though the said Commodities were not the very Growth of the said Places.' This Act did not extend to Bullion or Prize Goods, nor to Silk or Silk Wares brought by Land from *Italy* to *Ostend*, *Amsterdam*, &c. provided they were brought from those Ports in *English* Vessels.

Before we conclude the Transactions of this Month we shall only observe, that notwithstanding the Proclamation of 1000*l.* Reward lately issued, for Apprehending of the King's Person, and the indistigable Pains taken to discover him, he

could

evaded all his Pursuers, found Means to hire a Vessel on the Coast of *Suffex*, and landed at *Havre-de-Grace*. On the 28th of this Month an Extract of two Letters from *Paris* were publish'd, (licens'd by the Clerk of the Parliament) setting forth, 'That on the $\frac{1}{2}^o$ the *Scots* King arrived there, and was met by the Duke of *Orleans* not far from that City, who had the Day before sent some Coaches for him to *Meugy*, where he lay that Night: That his Highness conducted him to the *Louvre*, where the late Queen, his Mother, repaired presently after from *Chaliot*, where she had been erecting a Nunnery: That the King gave the Company a full Narrative of all the Particulars of what happened at the Fight at *Worcester*, threw out some reproachful Words against the *Scots*, put some scurrilous Language on the Presbyterian Party in *England*, and boasted much of his own Valour: That he told them how he slipt out of *Worcester*, and how near he was of being taken there; first in the Fort, and after in his Chamber: How he disguised himself, and went from County to County, and what Shift he made for Victuals and Lodging; sometimes being driven to beg a Piece of Bread and Meat, and ride with Bread in one Hand and Meat in the other; and sometimes setting a Guard about a little Cottage while he rested there untill the Morning: As also his being in *London*, and the Manner of his passing disguised through several Counties in *England*, till he made his Escape: The Relation whereof produced some Laughter, at the Ridiculousness of his Condition.'—Thus much for the Parliament's Account of the King's Escape. His Majesty's own Narrative thereof may be found at large in Lord *Clarendon*'s History, who had all the Particulars from the King himself. ^p

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An Account of the King's Escape into *France*, as published by Authority of the House.

November. Little Business was done in the House this Month, except nominating Sheriffs of Counties for the Year ensuing, till the 14th, when the Members in and about *Westminster-Hall*,

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as well Judges as others, were all ordered to be summoned, by the Serjeant with his Mace, and required to give their Attendance in the House. The Debate upon the Bill for the Dissolution of the Parliament was then resumed; and the Question being put, That it is now a convenient Time to declare a certain Period for the Continuance of this Parliament, beyond which it shall not sit, the House divided; when the *Yeas* brought in by the Lord-General *Cromwell* and the Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, were 49; the *Noes*, by Colonel *Morley* and Mr. *Bond*, 47: A near-run Business, and evidently shews with how great Reluctancy they agreed to part with their Power.

After this Resolution, the House did nothing more than adjourn to

The Parliament fix upon a Time for their Dissolution. *Nov. 18.* When it was resolved, That the Time for the Continuance of this Parliament, beyond which they resolve not to sit, shall be the third Day of *November*, 1654.—Thus was this great Business, which had continued in Agitation so many Months, at length concluded, but the Dissolution put off *ad longum Diem*. However, they did not live to the destined Period; for, before that Time, this Remnant of a Parliament met its Fate, under the superior Power of their Lord-General *Cromwell* and his Army.

A new Council of State elected. *Nov. 19.* A Report being made from the Council of State, That the Time of the ceasing of the Power of the said Council determined on the first of *December* next, the House resolved, That the Number thereof, for the Year ensuing, should be Twenty-one chosen out of the present Members, and Twenty new ones; to be elected, as before, by Ballot. Accordingly, a few Days after, the House proceeded to the Election, when the Lord-General *Cromwell*, the Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke*, the Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. *John Gurdon*, Esq, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, the Lord Chief Justice *Rolle*, the Lord-

Lord - Commissioner *Lisle*, Serjeant *Bradshaw*, Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, *Dennis Bond* and *Thomas Scott*, Esq^{rs}. Colonels *Puresfoy* and *Wauton*, Sir *William Masham*, Sir *James Harrington*, *Thomas Chaloner*, Esq; Major *Salway*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, *John Carew* and *Nicholas Love*, Esq^{rs}. were re-elected. The new Members were *Herbert Morley* and *Anthony Stapley*, Esq^{rs}. Sir *Peter Wentworth*, *Philip Lord Lisle*, *Alexander Popham*, *John Corbet*, *Abraham Burrel*, *William Hay*, and *Cornelius Holland*, Esq^{rs}. Alderman *Pennington*, *William Masham* and *John Downes*, Esq^{rs}. Sir *William Constable*, *John Dixwel*, *Henry Nevil*, *Henry Herbert*, and *Robert Blake*, Esq^{rs}. *Philip Earl of Pembroke*, *Henry Martin*, and *Robert Wallop*, Esq^{rs}. It is remarkable that, upon this Contest for Power, 120 Members were present, though, upon other Occasions, the House very seldom consisted of more than 50, and oftentimes under 40.

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The last Thing we find memorable, in the Proceedings of this Month, was appointing another Day of Thanksgiving, for taking of the strong and populous City of *Limerick*, in *Ireland*, by the Lord-Deputy there, *October 30, 1651*, with all the Artillery, Arms, Ammunition, &c. therein: Likewise for taking the Isles of *Jersey* and *Man*, with all their Castles and Forts, Ordnance and Ammunition contain'd in them. But *Ireton*, the victorious General in *Ireland*, did not long survive his Conquest there; for he died at *Limerick*, the 26th of *November*, two Days before the House had ordered some Physicians to go over, with all Speed, to attend him.

Notwithstanding the Death of *Ireton*, in whom *Cromwell* lost one of his most trusty Confidants, yet this Accident cast no Damp upon his Ambition: For having now, by the Rapidity of his Conquests, three Nations under his Feet, and the Parliament and Council of State at his Devotion, he seems to have meditated a Design to assume the Royal Diadem, and to fix it upon his own Head: But before

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fore he attempted to put this hardy Enterprize into Execution, he thought it adviseable to take the Opinion of his Friends. Accordingly he desired a Meeting of some Members of Parliament, and Chief Officers of the Army at the Speaker's House. The Particulars of this extraordinary Conference, as related by Mr. *Whitlocke* himself, one of the Persons present on this Occasion, will greatly illustrate the subsequent Part of this Work.

A Conference
between *Crom-*
well and others,
touching the fu-
ture Settlement
of the Nation.

The Company being assembled, *Cromwell* proposed, *That now the old King being dead, and his Son being defeated, he held it necessary to come to a Settlement of the Nation: And that, in order thereunto, he had requested this Meeting, that they, together, might consider and advise what was fit to be done, and to be presented to the Parliament.*

LENTHALL, Speaker. My Lord, This Company were very ready to attend your Excellency; and the Business you are pleased to propound to us is very necessary to be considered. God hath given marvellous Success to our Forces under your Command, and if we do not improve these Mercies to some Settlement, such as may be to God's Honour and the Good of this Commonwealth, we shall be very much Blameworthy.

Major-General HARRISON. I think that which my Lord-General hath propounded is, to advise as to a Settlement both of our Civil and Spiritual Liberties; and so that the Mercies which the Lord hath given in to us, may not be cast away: How this may be done is the great Question.

WHITLOCKE. It is a great Question indeed, and not suddenly to be resolved; yet it were Pity that a Meeting of so many able and worthy Persons, as I see here, should be fruitless.

I should humbly offer, in the first Place, whether it be not requisite to be understood in what Way this Settlement is desired, whether of an absolute Republic, or with any Mixture of Monarchy?

CROMWELL. My Lord-Commissioner Whitlocke hath put us upon the right Point; and indeed it is my Meaning that we should consider, whether a Re-
public

public or a mix'd Monarchical Government will be best to be settled; and, if any Thing Monarchical, then in whom that Power shall be plac'd? Inter-regnum.
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Sir T. WIDDRINGTON. *I think a mix'd Monarchical Government will be most suitable to the Laws and People of this Nation; and, if any Monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just to place that Power in one of the Sons of the late King.*

Col. FLEETWOOD. *I think that the Question, whether an absolute Republic or a mix'd Monarchy be best to be settled in this Nation, will not be very easy to be determined.*

Lord Chief Justice ST. JOHN. *It will be found that the Government of this Nation, without something of Monarchical Power, will be very difficult to be so settled, as not to shake the Foundation of our Laws, and the Liberties of the People.*

Speaker. *It will breed a strange Confusion to settle a Government of this Nation without something of Monarchy.*

Col. DESBOROUGH. *I beseech you, my Lord, why may not this, as well as other Nations, be governed in the Way of a Republic?*

WHITLOCKE. *The Laws of England are so interwoven with the Power and Practice of Monarchy, that to settle a Government without something of Monarchy in it, would make so great an Alteration in the Proceedings of our Law, that you have scarce Time to rectify; nor can we well foresee the Inconveniences which will arise thereby.*

Col. WHALEY. *I do not well understand Matters of Law, but it seems to me to be the best Way not to have any Thing of Monarchical Power in the Settlement of our Government: And if we should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon? The late King's eldest Son hath been in Arms against us, and his second Son likewise is our Enemy.*

Sir T. WIDDRINGTON. *But the late King's third Son, the Duke of Gloucester, is still among us, and too young to have been in Arms against us, or infected with the Principles of our Enemies.*

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December.

WHITLOCKE. *There may be a Day given for the King's eldest Son, or for the Duke of York his Brother, to come in to the Parliament; and, upon such Terms as shall be thought fit and agreeable both to our Civil and Spiritual Liberties, a Settlement may be made with them.*

CROMWELL. *That will be a Business of more than ordinary Difficulty; but really I think, if it may be done with Safety, and the Preservation of our Rights, both as Englishmen and as Christians, that a Settlement, with somewhat of Monarchical Power in it, would be very effectual.*

Our *Memorialist* adds, 'That there was much Discourse, by divers Gentlemen then present, but too large to be inserted: That, generally, the Soldiers were against any Thing of Monarchy, tho' every one of them was a Monarch in his own Regiment or Company: That the Lawyers were for a mix'd Monarchical Government; and many were for the Duke of Gloucester to be made King; but Cromwell still put off that Debate, and came to some other Point: And that in Conclusion, after a long Debate, the Company parted without coming to any Result at all; only Cromwell discovered, by this Meeting, the Inclinations of the Persons that spake, which he fish'd for, and made use of what he then discern'd.'—Thus far Mr. *Whitlocke*.

Though, by the Result of this Conference, Cromwell was sufficiently convinced that his Attempt upon the Crown was impracticable, yet we shall soon see him invested with a more absolute Power than any Monarch of these Nations ever assum'd or enjoy'd.—To proceed then:

Commissioners
appointed for the
Government of
Scotland.

December 10. The Commissioners to be sent down into Scotland, in order to introduce an *English* Government in that Kingdom, were this Day nominated and appointed, and were these: Lord Chief Justice St. John, Sir Henry Vane, jun. Col.

George

George Fenwick, Major *Richard Salway*, the Majors General *Lambert* and *Deane*, Lieutenant-General *Moncke*, and Alderman *Titchburne* of *London*. But the Instructions for these Commissioners were forbid by the Parliament to be enter'd in the *Journals*, and only one Copy thereof ordered to be ingrossed for the Use of the Council of State.

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January.

Dec. 12. The Excise on Malt Liquors had been general; but, in order to make some Reduction therein, the House this Day resolved, That from and after the 25th of *December*, 1651, no Beer or Ale be exciseable, but such as should be brew'd by common Brewers; or else brew'd to be sold by Vintners, Inn-keepers, Alehouse-keepers, Cooks, Chandlers, and other Persons, brewing in their Houses, and selling again by Retail or otherwise.

A Deputation of three Ambassadors being sent from *Holland*, to settle some Disputes between the two Commonwealths, which were likely to break out into a War, the House gave them an Audience on the 19th: But the Ceremonial being much the same as before, we pass it over.

The same Day an Act for laying an Assessment of 90,000*l.* a Month, for six Months, for Maintenance of the Army, was read a third Time and passed; so that here was a Saving to the Public of 30,000*l.* a Month, and yet a very heavy Tax left behind.

January. Business of any great Moment now begins to be very scarce in the Proceedings of the House, and little can be pick'd out of them fit for these Inquiries. There is a Multiplicity of various Matters included; but they were only private Affairs, the more public ones being now so fully settled, that this new Republic seemed to be established in *Perpetuum*. Some Regulations in Government were proposed to be made; particularly a Bill was ordered to be prepared and brought in, to rectify the Inconveniences that were then in the

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February.

A Committee for
regulating the
Practice of the
Law.

Law; and how the Mischiefs which grew from the Delays, Chargeableness and Irregularities in the Proceedings of the Law, might be prevented, with the speediest Way to reform the same: And a Committee of 21 Persons, not then Members of the House, of whom *Matthew Hale*, Esq; was the Chairman, were nominated to propose some Scheme for that Purpose to the Committee of Parliament appointed to bring in the Bill, and to advise them in this Business, with Power to send for Persons, Records, &c. and to meet in the late House of Lords for that Purpose.

An Act of Oblivion, or general Pardon, was also debated this Month; and many Alterations and Amendments made to it, but not passed.

Josiah Prymate
and *Col. Lilburne*
punished for pe-
titioning against
Sir Arthur Hasel-
rigge.

Lastly, *Col. John Lilburne* having joined in a Petition with *Josiah Prymate*, to the House, against *Sir Arthur Haselrigge*, complaining of his great Oppression and Tyranny, in seizing on certain Collieries in the County of *Durham*; and over-awing and directing the Commissioners to whom he had applied for Relief, the said Petition was voted false, malicious, and scandalous, and order'd to be burnt by the common Hangman. *Prymate* and *Lilburne* were fined each 3000*l.* for the Use of the Commonwealth; 2000*l.* to *Sir Arthur Haselrigge* for Damages, and 500*l.* a-piece to the Commissioners before whom the Cause had been heard. The former of them was also committed to the Fleet till Payment should be made, and the latter was ordered to be banished out of *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and the Territories thereto belonging, and to suffer Death in case of his Return.

February. Almost all this Month was taken up with Debates on the Bill mentioned for a general Pardon and Oblivion; but such a Multitude of Proviso's, proposed and divided upon, are in the *Journals*, as plainly shew the Parliament had no Intention either to pardon fully, or forget past Trespasses against them.

Many

Many Petitions were also presented from the Merchants, touching private Inconveniencies sustained by the new Navigation Act.

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March.

There was also an Act passed, giving further Powers touching the Sale of Delinquents Estates; and another, whereby all Honours, Titles, &c. granted by King *Charles* the First, since the 4th of January, 1641, were declared null and void. Writs were ordered to be issued to the Sheriffs, for bringing in all such Patents for Honours, &c. into the Court of Chancery, in order to their being cancell'd, with a Penalty of 50*l.* on Refusal. Every Peer assuming such Title to forfeit 100*l.* a Baronet or Knight, 40*l.* And any Person giving such prohibited Title by way of Address, 10*s.*

Act for vacating
Honours granted
by the late King.

March. The Parliament's Commissioners in Scotland having now made great Progress in their Reformation of the Government in that Kingdom, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. and Col. *Fenwick*, two of their Number, were sent by the rest to give an Account to the House of their Proceedings. There are only the Titles of the public Papers which were exhibited to the House, on this Occasion, in the *Journals*; and to recite even these would be so tedious, that we forbear the further Mention of them till we come to the final Result.

We shall finish our Account of the Proceedings of the Legal Year 1651, with observing, That on the 25th of this Month the Parliament made some further Progress in the Bill for Reformation of the Laws. An Act was brought in for taking away Fines upon Bills, Declarations, and original Writs; another for the more speedy Recovery of Rents; and a third against customary Oaths; which were all read twice, and committed to the Committee before appointed to sit on this great Affair.

The Acts passed now were so few, that we shall content ourselves with giving an Abstract of the most material of them at the End of the Year.

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1652.

April,

April. Nothing but private Affairs interfering, we go on to the 13th of this Month, when a Bill was brought in for incorporating of *Scotland* into one Commonwealth and Free State with *England*; and for abolishing the Kingly Office in *Scotland*. It was read a first and second Time, and committed to a large Committee; but all that came were to have Voices in it.

Some more Additions were made to the Bill for regulating the Law; which went on very slowly, 'It being the Interest, says *Ludlow*, of the Lawyers to preserve the Lives, Liberties, and Estates of the whole Nation in their own Hands. So that upon the Debate, adds this *Memorialist*, of registering Deeds in each County, for want of which, within a certain Time fix'd after the Sale, such Deeds should be void; and, being so registered, that Land should not be subject to any Incumbrance: This Word *Incumbrance* was so managed by the Lawyers, that it took up three Months Time before it could be ascertained by the Committee.'

Vote relating to
Tythes.

The Business of Tythes was also another Topic this Month; and, after Debate upon them, the House ordered it to be referred to the Committee appointed to receive Proposals for the better Propagation of the Gospel, to consider how a convenient and competent Maintenance for a godly and able Ministry may be settled in lieu of Tythes, and present their Opinion to the House. And the Question being put that this Clause be added, 'That Tythes should be paid as formerly, untill such Maintenance be settled,' the House divided; when it was carried in the Affirmative, by 27 against 17.

May 7. The first Thing we find remarkable in the Proceedings of this Month is, that the Parliament, according to Order, took into Consideration how the House might be supplied with Members.

Next

Next they voted, That the Grand Committee for settling a certain Time for the Sitting of this present Parliament, and providing for successive Parliaments, be revived. Accordingly on the 12th they resum'd this Business, and ordered it to be continued every *Wednesday*, as before.

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May.

May 14. The Commissioners sent into *Scotland* to settle Affairs there being return'd, they this Day gave an Account to the House of their Transactions in that Kingdom; which were so satisfactory, that the Speaker was ordered to return them Thanks for their extraordinary Care and Pains in managing the Affairs of *Scotland*. Letters of Thanks were also ordered to be sent to Major-General *Lambert*, Lieutenant General *Moncke*, Alderman *Tichburne*, and Major-General *Deane*, for the same Services. The Colonels *Overton*, *Ingoldby*, and *Pryde*, had 500 *l.* a-year settled on each of them, out of the forfeited Estates in *Scotland*; so that that Nation was now almost entirely subdued, and made a Fief to the Commonwealth of *England*.

About this Time a Sea-Fight happened in the *Downs*, between the *English* and the *Dutch*; the particular Account of which was, on the 21st, communicated to the House in a Letter from Admiral *Blake*, but not enter'd in the *Journals*. However they voted their Approbation of what the Admiral had done in this Affair; and ordered the Council of State to take Care of the strengthening the Fleet, for the Security and Benefit of the Commonwealth. And the next Day of Meeting, *May 25*, on a Report from the said Council, the House ordered that 40 Sail of Ships, more than were already in the Service of the Commonwealth, should be taken on speedily, and to employ other Forces as they should see Cause, and to proceed vigorously.

About the same Time with the late Sea-Fight, three Ambassadors from the States arrived at *London*, and were conducted to a public Audience of the

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June.

Who thereupon
send Ambassadors
to the Parliament

the House. Mr. *Ludlow* gives the following Account of this Embassy: 'The States General, being highly displeased with the late Act of Navigation passed by the Parliament, which they accounted to be a great Obstruction to their Trade, resolved to leave no Means unattempted to procure it to be repealed. To this End they sent three Ambassadors to *England*^s; who pretending a Desire to finish the Treaty begun formerly between the two States, requested that Things might be as they were at the Time of the Parliament's Ambassador's Departure from *Holland*; designing thereby that the Act lately pass'd for the Encouragement of our Seamen should be suspended, and all such Merchandizes restored as had been seized from the *Dutch* by Virtue of the said Act. The Parliament refusing to consent to this Proposal, the States General gave Orders for the equipping a considerable Fleet, consisting of about 100 Ships of War, giving Notice to the House, by their Ambassadors, of these Preparations; and assuring them that they were not design'd to offend the *English* Nation, with whom they desired to maintain a friendly Correspondence; and that they were provided to no other End, than to protect their own Subjects in their Trade and Navigation. But the Parliament, being unwilling to rely upon the Promises of those, who, by their past and present Actions, had manifested little Friendship to them, resolved to make what Preparations they could to defend themselves.'

June. Most of this Month is taken up with Notes or Inferences, in the *Journals*, relating to the Transactions between the Parliament and Council of State, and the *Dutch* Ambassadors. But these Notes are so abstractedly enter'd, as not to be capable of an Explanation.

After

^s Their Names were *James Catts*, Lord of *Wulpen*; *Gerard Schaep*, Alderman of *Amsterdam*; and *Paul Vande Perre*, Counsellor Pensionary of *Middleburgh*. The Memorial presented by them, with the Parliament's Answer, are in *Whitlocke*. Many other Papers, touching this Negotiation, are printed in the First Volume of *Thurlow's State Papers*, and in *Heath's Chronicle*.

After the late Sea-Fight, the States of *Holland* dispatched away another Messenger to the Commonwealth of *England*, the Lord *Pawe*, who took upon him the Character of an Ambassador Extraordinary, and had Audience of the House accordingly, on the 10th. His Business was, by what can be pick'd out of the *Journals*, to expostulate with the Parliament on the late violent Proceedings of the *English* Fleet in the *Downs*, and to settle Affairs between the two States in an amicable Manner.

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July.

But all these Negotiations had no Effect; for we find that the *English* Demands being to have Satisfaction from the *Dutch* for all Charges and Damages this State had sustained, and been put to this Summer, on their Account, the *Dutch* denied to consent to it: And the Ambassadors having desired to take their Leave of the House, it was granted, and done with great Ceremony on the 29th. The Council of State was also ordered to prepare them convenient Passes and Safe Conducts for their Return home, and they set forward that very Night for that Purpose. The House voted their Approbation of the Proceedings of the Council in this Affair; and likewise ordered them to draw up and prepare a Declaration, to assert the Right of the Commonwealth of *England* in the Sovereignty of the Seas, and to the Fishery; to be made Use of when the Parliament should see Cause.

Nothing else memorable in this Month; but, about the Middle of it, the House pass'd a Bill for continuing the Assessment of 90,000 *l.* a Month, for six Months longer.

The last Monthly Assessment continued.

July. The War with *Holland* now began to be enter'd into in earnest; Sir *George Ayscough*, one of the *English* Admirals, lately returned from reducing the Plantations to the Obedience of Parliament, fought the *Dutch* Fleet, under Admiral *Van Tromp*, and took, sunk, and dispersed 36 Sail of their Ships. An Account of which coming on the 6th of this Month to the House, they ordered that a Letter of Thanks be written from the Parliament

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to Sir *George Ayscough*, taking Notice of his great Services to the Commonwealth, and that he should give their Thanks also to the Officers under him.

Admiral *Blake* was sent with a strong Squadron Northward, to disturb the *Dutch Fisheries* on that Coast, where he fought and dispersed their Men of War, and took most of their Fishing Boats, &c.

July 7. This Day a Declaration of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, relating to the Affairs and Proceedings between them and the States General of the *United Provinces* of the *Low Countries*, and the present Differences occasion'd on the States Part; together with the Papers to which this Declaration related, all translated into *Latin, Dutch, and French*, were ordered to be forthwith printed and published.

Cathedral
Churches order'd
to be pull'd down
and sold;

The Parliament owing large Sums of Money to divers People, on what was called *The Public Faith*, an Order had been made the 18th of *February*, That all the Cathedral Churches in *England*, where there were other Churches sufficient for the People to meet in for the Worship of God, should be surveyed, pulled down, and the Materials sold; the Value received for which should be applied to set the Poor on Work. And on the 9th of this Month a Motion was made for referring it to a Committee to consider what Cathedrals were fit to stand, or what to be pulled down, or what Part thereof; and how those Cathedrals, or such Part of them as should be pulled down, might be applied to the Payment of the Creditors upon the Public Faith; which was agreed to^u. But these

Words,

^u In consequence of this Resolution, we find the following Advertisement printed in a *Diary* of these Times:

At Lichfield, in Staffordshire, is great Store of Lead to be sold, by reason of taking down the Cathedral Church or Minster there, and also the Bells of the said Cathedral; all which will be sold worth the Money. If any please to repair thither to buy them, they may be well used in the Price of them.

But this noble Fabric happened to be preserved from being utterly ruined by the Sacrilegious Violence of these Times; and was afterwards restored to its pristine Elegance, by the Care and Generosity of Bishop *Hacket*, as may be seen in Dr. *Willis's History of Cathedrals*, Vol. I. 4to, p. 324.

Words, *Collegiate Churches*, being proposed to be added, the House divided, when the latter Buildings were voted to be spared, by the poor Majority of 25 against 21. Another Question being put, That the Bells of such Cathedrals as the Parliament should think fit to be pulled down, should be applied to public Use, for making Ordnance for Shipping, it passed in the Negative, by only 23 against 21.

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The Parliament had not yet done with fleecing the Royalists; but several more Bills and Additions to Bills for Composition or Sale of their Estates, were still going forward, and especially at this Time, when the Navy they were obliged to maintain against the *Dutch*, took up a great deal of Money to support it; amongst which the Roman Catholics were rated very high: For on the 20th of this Month it was resolved, That such Papists Delinquents, whose Estates should be exposed to Sale, might compound for them at six Years Value, and then be allowed to sell the whole so compounded for, provided they departed the Nation within one Year after such Composition; otherwise their Estates, although compounded for, to be still subject to the Law. And the next Day the Estates of *William Lord Craven*, *Sir Francis Howard*, *Sir Edward Ratcliffe*, *Sir Walter Vavasor*, and many others, (whose Names are particularized in the *Journals*) were ordered to be sold for the Use of the Navy.

Also Money to be raised on Delinquents Estates, towards carrying on the *Dutch* War.

August. The Business of this Month seems to run still for raising Money on Delinquents Estates. The House also went upon the Distribution of the Lands lately conquered in *Ireland*, and appointed *Oliuer Cromwell*, by the Title of Captain-General of all the Parliament's Forces; Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, as Commander in Chief under him, in *Ireland**; Lieutenant-General *Ludlow*, *Miles Corbett*, *John Jones*, and *John Weaver*, Esq^{rs}. Commissioners

* *Cromwell's* Warrant, appointing *Fleetwood* to this Command, is in *Clarke's State Papers*, Vol. 1. p. 212.

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missioners for ordering and managing the Affairs of that Nation, with the following Instructions for that Purpose :

Instructions for
the Commission-
ers appointed to
settle the Go-
vernment of Ire-
land.

I. ‘ **Y**OU are to endeavour, by the best Ways
‘ and Means you can, to preserve the Peace
‘ of *Ireland*, and that the People there may have
‘ Right and Justice duly administer’d to them ;
‘ and to that End, as near as the present Affairs
‘ will permit, you are to see that the Laws of *Eng-*
‘ *land*, as to Matters of Government and Admini-
‘ stration of Justice, be put in Execution in *Ire-*
‘ *land* : And you are authorized to erect, allow,
‘ alter or continue any Court or Courts of Justice
‘ or Judicatories, in any Place in *Ireland*, with all
‘ Rights, Powers, Jurisdictions, Incidents, and Ne-
‘ cessaries requisite for the same ; and to appoint
‘ and place in every of them such Judges, Justices,
‘ Officers, and Ministers ; and to appoint for every
‘ of them respectively such Salaries and Allowances,
‘ and to issue forth such Commissions and Depu-
‘ tations for the Execution thereof, as you shall
‘ judge needful and most conducing to the Peace
‘ and Good of that People, and to the settling of
‘ them in Obedience to the Parliament of *England*,
‘ untill further Resolutions be taken by the Parlia-
‘ ment concerning the same : And you are to cause
‘ such Seals to be made and used in the Courts of
‘ Justice, or for passing Grants or transacting Pro-
‘ ceedings there, as are or shall be, in that Behalf,
‘ by the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *Eng-*
‘ *land*, directed and appointed.

II. ‘ You are to cause the Act, intituled, *An Act*
‘ *for settling of Ireland* (whereof several printed
‘ Copies are herewith delivered unto you) to be
‘ published and dispersed in the several Provinces
‘ of *Ireland*, in such Manner as you shall think
‘ fit ; to the End that all the People of that Na-
‘ tion, concerned therein, may understand what
‘ the Intentions of the Parliament are towards
‘ them ; and you are to take Care that the same be
‘ put in Execution accordingly.

III. ‘ You

III. ' You are to consider of the readiest and
' best Ways for settling that Country, and present
' your Opinions therein to the Parliament as there
' shall be Cause.

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IV. ' You are to endeavour the Promulgation
' of the Gospel and the Power of true Religion
' and Holiness there, and to cause competent Main-
' tenance to be allowed and duly paid out of the
' public Revenue, to such Ministers and Persons of
' pious Life and Conversation, and well-affected to
' the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Eng-
' land, as are fitly qualified with Gifts for preach-
' ing the Gospel, and instructing of the People
' there in Godliness and Honesty; and to take
' Care that all due Protection, Countenance, and
' Encouragement be given thereunto by all in Au-
' thority under the Parliament; and to put in Exe-
' cution all Acts, Ordinances, and Orders of Par-
' liament, now in Force, against Pluralists, Malig-
' nants, and scandalous Ministers.

V. ' You are to consider of all due Ways and
' Means for the advancing of Learning and train-
' ing up of Youth in Piety and Literature; and
' to promote the same, by settling of Maintenance
' upon fit Persons to be employed therein.

VI. ' You are authorized to remove out of any
' Office or Place of Civil Government in *Ireland*,
' any Magistrate, Governor, Officer, or others,
' whom you shall find unfit for the Trust reposed
' in them, or to be dangerous to this Common-
' wealth; and you shall place others in their room,
' as you see Cause, fitted for such Employment,
' for the better Advancement of the Service of this
' Commonwealth, and for the Good and Peace of
' the People thereof.

VII. ' You are to take Care that no Papist or
' Delinquent, or disaffected Persons, be entrusted
' with, or any way employed in, the Administra-
' tion of the Laws or Execution of Justice, or of
' any Office or Place of Trust in *Ireland*.

VIII. ' You are to take Care that no Papist nor
' Delinquent be permitted, directly nor indirectly,

' to

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‘ to practice as Counsellors at Law, Attornies, or
 ‘ Solicitors, nor to keep Schools for the training
 ‘ of Youth.

IX. ‘ You are to inform yourselves of the State
 ‘ of the antient Revenue, and all the Profits of for-
 ‘ feited Lands in *Ireland*, and to cause all Forfeitures
 ‘ and Escheats to be improved for the best Advan-
 ‘ tage of this Commonwealth; and to cause all Acts,
 ‘ Ordinances, and Orders of Parliament, now in
 ‘ Force in this Commonwealth, for sequestering of
 ‘ Delinquents and Papists Estates, and of all the
 ‘ Estates of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and
 ‘ Chapters, to be put in Execution in *Ireland*:
 ‘ And also to put in Execution all Acts and Ordi-
 ‘ nances of Parliament for the levying and recei-
 ‘ ving of the Duties of Custom and Excise, at the
 ‘ same Rates and Proportions expressed in the said
 ‘ Acts and Ordinances for levying the same in
 ‘ *England*.

X. ‘ You are authorized by yourselves, or such
 ‘ as you shall appoint fit for that Purpose, from
 ‘ Time to Time, as you shall see Cause, upon the
 ‘ Place, to impose and lay Taxes and Assessments
 ‘ upon the Lands and Goods of the People of *Ire-*
 ‘ *land*, not exceeding 40,000*l.* a Month, towards
 ‘ the Pay and Maintenance of the Army and Gar-
 ‘ risons there, and for the defraying of the Public
 ‘ Charges, and carrying on the Affairs of this
 ‘ Commonwealth in *Ireland*, in order to the Exe-
 ‘ cution of these Instructions; and, as much as may
 ‘ be, for the Ease of the Charge of this Common-
 ‘ wealth: And you are also by yourselves, or such
 ‘ as you shall appoint, to sett and lett all such
 ‘ Lands, Houses, and other Hereditaments what-
 ‘ soever, in *Ireland*, as are, or shall be, in the Dis-
 ‘ posal of the Parliament of *England*; as also the
 ‘ Rents, Issues, and Profits of all Ecclesiastical
 ‘ Benefices of such Ministers as shall be ejected,
 ‘ and of all such other Ecclesiastical Promotions and
 ‘ Benefices as shall become vacant, and not other-
 ‘ wise disposed of, by Act or Order of Parliament,
 ‘ for such Time or Term of Years, not exceeding
 ‘ seven

‘ seven Years ; and at and under such Rents and
 ‘ other Conditions as you shall conceive to be most
 ‘ for the Public Advantage : And you are to give
 ‘ such Directions or Instructions as, upon the Place,
 ‘ you shall think fit, concerning the Public Re-
 ‘ nue arising out of that Nation.

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XL. ‘ You are authorized, by Warrants under
 ‘ your Hands, from Time to Time, to charge the
 ‘ Treasury and Public Revenues arising out of that
 ‘ Nation, and to dispose of so much thereof as you
 ‘ shall judge necessary for the carrying on or effect-
 ‘ ing of any Thing in these Instructions, or in pur-
 ‘ suance thereof : And you are to appoint Recei-
 ‘ vers, Collectors, and all Officers and Ministers
 ‘ needful for the raising, collecting, receiving, ma-
 ‘ naging, and issuing of the said Public Revenue ;
 ‘ and to allow them, and every of them, fitting
 ‘ Salaries for their Service therein ; and your said
 ‘ Warrant for issuing out or disposing of any Sum
 ‘ or Sums of Money out of the said Revenue,
 ‘ shall be a sufficient Discharge to the said Officers
 ‘ respectively for the same ; all other Warrants for
 ‘ Payment of the Army, either in Money or Pro-
 ‘ visions, or the incident Charges thereof ; and
 ‘ likewise all Warrants for Ammunition to be de-
 ‘ livered out of the Public Stores, being to be issued
 ‘ by the Commander in Chief of the Forces in *Ire-
 ‘ land*.

XII. ‘ You are to cause to be put in Execution,
 ‘ effectually, all Laws now in Force against the
 ‘ counterfeiting, clipping, washing, or debasing of
 ‘ Coin ; and are impowered to put forth Procla-
 ‘ mations, as you shall think fit, for suppressing
 ‘ thereof.

XIII. ‘ You are, from Time to Time, to com-
 ‘ missionate and appoint Judges, Justices, Com-
 ‘ missioners, Ministers, and such other Persons as
 ‘ you shall judge requisite for putting in Execution
 ‘ all and every of these Instructions ; and to order
 ‘ and appoint them fitting Salaries and Allowances
 ‘ for the same, with Regard had to the Ease of the
 ‘ Charge of this Commonwealth ; and, from Time

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‘ to Time, to remove and displace them, or any of
 ‘ them, and place others in their Room, as you
 ‘ shall see Cause, for the Public Service there.

XIV. ‘ You are hereby authorized and impow-
 ‘ ered to erect and make Use of, or command, any
 ‘ Press or Presses there for printing and publishing
 ‘ any Proclamations, Declarations, Orders, Books,
 ‘ or other Matters, which you shall think fit for the
 ‘ Public Service ; and to prohibit the Use thereof
 ‘ by any Person, or in Cases where you shall see
 ‘ Cause.

XV. ‘ You are authorized to send for, in safe
 ‘ Custody, and to commit to Prison, or otherwise
 ‘ to restrain, such Persons in *Ireland*, (not under
 ‘ Military Command) whom you shall at any
 ‘ Time find to be any ways dangerous to this
 ‘ Commonwealth ; and such as shall be by you
 ‘ imprisoned, or restrained, to release and discharge
 ‘ out of Prison, or Restraint, again, at any Time
 ‘ when you shall see Cause to do the same for the
 ‘ Advantage of the Public Service : And you are
 ‘ authorized to remove from their Places of Habi-
 ‘ tation, and to send into *England*, or such other
 ‘ Places as you shall think fit, any Persons whose
 ‘ Residence in those Parts from whence they are to
 ‘ be removed, you shall judge dangerous to this
 ‘ Commonwealth, or prejudicial to the Authority
 ‘ thereof, or the Peace of that Nation : And you
 ‘ may give Licence to any Persons that shall be by
 ‘ you so removed, to return again to their Places
 ‘ of Residence, or Habitation ; at any Time when
 ‘ you shall see Cause, for the Advantage of the
 ‘ Public Service there.

XVI. ‘ You are authorized, by yourselves, or
 ‘ such as you shall depute or appoint for that Pur-
 ‘ pose, to administer any Oath or Oaths to any
 ‘ Person or Persons whatsoever, in pursuance of
 ‘ these Instructions, or in order to the Execution
 ‘ thereof.

XVII. ‘ You are to consider, with the Com-
 ‘ mander in Chief, of all due Ways and Means
 ‘ for lessening the Public Charge of the Common-
 ‘ wealth

‘ wealth there, either by reducing the Forces in-
 ‘ to fewer Regiments, disbanding Supernumeraries,
 ‘ demolishing of Castles or Garrisons, or
 ‘ by moderating and regulating the present Establishment
 ‘ of the Pay for the said Forces; or by
 ‘ taking away any other superfluous Charge of what
 ‘ Kind soever, wherewith the Public Revenue is
 ‘ charged; and to put the same into Practice and
 ‘ Execution, with such convenient Speed as the
 ‘ Condition of Affairs will admit, and as you find
 ‘ the same may stand with the public Safety and
 ‘ Advantage.

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XVIII. ‘ You are authorized to be present at
 ‘ all Councils of War, and to give such Advice as
 ‘ you shall see Cause.

XIX. ‘ All Officers and Soldiers of the Forces
 ‘ of this Commonwealth in *Ireland*, and all other
 ‘ Persons residing or being there, within the Power
 ‘ and Protection of this Commonwealth, are here-
 ‘ by commanded to be aiding and assisting to you
 ‘ for the better Execution of these Instructions.

XX. ‘ You are to give frequent and timely No-
 ‘ tice of your Proceedings in the Execution of these
 ‘ Instructions, unto the Parliament, or to the Council
 ‘ of State.

XXI. ‘ You are to take effectual Care for the
 ‘ Preservation of the Timber in *Ireland*; and to use
 ‘ all such Ways and Means for preventing the
 ‘ Mischiefs and Inconveniences by felling Timber
 ‘ there, as you shall think fit.’

Whilst the Parliament was employ’d in debating
 the foregoing Instructions, on the 13th of this
 Month a Petition was presented to them by Com-
 missary-General *Whalley*, in the Name of the
 Council of Officers of the Army. The Contents
 of this Petition are not set down in the *Journals*:
 But Mr. *Whitlocke* informs us that it consisted of
 the following Particulars:

A Petition from
 the Council of
 Officers in the
 Army,

1. ‘ That speedy and effectual Means might
 be used for propagating the Gospel; profane and
 scandalous Ministers to be outed; good Preachers

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2. 'For Regulation of the Law: To desire that what the Committee for it had propounded, might be debated, and Encouragement given to them.

3. 'That profane, scandalous, and disaffected Persons, in all Places of Authority, might be removed by Act of Parliament; and well-affected Persons put in; and all to be such as feared God and hated Covetousness.

4. 'To redress Abuses in the Collecting and Management of the Excise.

5. 'That Public-Faith Debts be justly satisfied; and first to the poorer Sort, before any more of the public Revenue be given away to particular Persons.

6. 'For stating the Accounts and satisfying the Arrears of Soldiers, and Care for maimed Soldiers, and Widows and Children of Soldiers slain.

7. 'That all Articles of War given to the Enemy might be made good.

8. 'That the public Revenue might be brought into one Treasury, with the Officers to be appointed by Parliament; and their Receipts and Disbursements published half yearly.

9. 'That a Committee be appointed, out of the House, to consider of unnecessary Offices and Salaries.

10. 'For setting the Poor to work, punishing Beggars, and providing for the Impotent.

11. 'For Liberty, in Corporations, for those who have served the Parliament to use manual Occupations.

12. 'For Qualifications of such as shall sit in future Parliaments.'

For which they receive the Thanks of the House.

The House received these Military Petitioners seemingly with great Respect, for they not only referr'd their Petition to a Committee, but order'd the Speaker to return hearty Thanks to them for their good Affections expressed therein to the Public: Notwithstanding which Mr. *Whitlocke* informs

us, ' That many were unsatisfied with this Petition, looking upon it as improper, if not arrogant, from the Officers of the Army to the Parliament, their Masters : And that *Cromwell* was advise to stop this Way of petitioning by the Officers of the Army with their Swords in their Hands, lest, in Time, it might come too home to himself : But that he seem'd to slight this Advice, or rather to have some Design on foot, and put the Soldiery upon preparing the Way for him.'——A Conjecture fully verified by the Event.

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All the Nations and States in *Europe* had, one Time or other, since the Commencement of the *English* Commonwealth, sent Ambassadors or Envoys, either to compliment them on their assumed Power, or to renew old Treaties with them in regard of Trade and Commerce, except *France* ; against whom an Act had been pass'd, prohibiting the Importation of any Wines, Wool, or Silk from that Kingdom. This Act had continued in Force for some Time ; and, as has been before remark'd, a War with *Portugal* being on foot, the *English* must have been supplied with their red Wines from the *Dutch* : But this Channel being also stopp'd up by the late War entered into against the *States*, the Parliament seem'd obliged to open the old Course, or drink no Claret. The House therefore voted, That Liberty and Licence be given for a free Trade and Commerce with *France*, to such Ports of that Kingdom, and under such Restrictions, as the Council of State should think fit ; and an Act to be prepared accordingly.

Trade open'd
with *France*,

Another Sea-Fight happened between the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets, near *Plymouth*, about the Middle of this Month, of which some slight Notice is taken in the *Journals* ; but none significant enough to make us think it was with any great Advantage to the *English*.

September 3. This Day the Annual Thanksgiving, appointed last Year to be kept for giving Thanks to Almighty God for many Mercies, particularly for the great Victories vouchsafed unto

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their Forces at *Worcester*, on the third Day of *September*, 1651, and at *Dunbar* on the same Day, 1650, was observed with great Solemnity.

The Parliament had now got a new foreign Enemy, by Admiral *Blake's* fighting and beating the *French* Fleet, and taking several of their Ships: But, on the 8th, the House ordered the *French* Officers, Soldiers, and Seamen taken in them, to be sent home to their own Country.

Some of the Articles contained in the last Petition of the Army to the Parliament begin now to break out: For, on the 14th, a Report was made from the Committee to whom the said Petition was referred, of the State of the Proceedings of the Grand Committee upon the Bill for fixing a Time for the Dissolution of this Parliament, and the providing successive Parliaments; but nothing was yet concluded upon touching this important Business.

The rest of this Month was chiefly taken up with Proceedings on the Bill for the Sale of Delinquents Estates, which was not yet ended. A Call of the House was ordered to be on the third of *November* next; and a *Portugal* Ambassador, named *Jean Roderico, Comes de Camera*, had an Audience, being introduced with the usual Ceremonies.

October 1. The Council of State represented to the House the distracted Condition the Treasury was in at this Time, by reason of which they could not manage those Affairs the Parliament had committed to them: They therefore humbly reminded the House of resuming the Consideration of a Bill depending before them, relating to that Business; as also concerning the executory Part of the Admiralty, many Difficulties arising from the Way in which it was then managed.

Hereupon the House ordered the Committee for that Bill to be revived; to meet that Afternoon, and to bring in the Names of such Persons for Supervisors of the Treasury, as they should think fit, on that Day Se'nnight; and the same for the

the Navy. Then the Question being put, That no Persons to be named for the Navy should be Members of Parliament, it passed in the Negative, by 19 against 17. The same Question being put for the Treasury, it was carried in the Negative, without any Division.

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A Deputation of 21 Commissioners from Scotland came up to London about this Time, and were lodg'd in Westminster by the Parliament's Orders. These Gentlemen came to treat with the Parliament about the intended Union between the two Nations: And, to that End, the House appointed twelve of their Members, whereof seven to be of the *Quorum*, to meet with these Deputies, to peruse their Commission, and see that it was in pursuance of, and according to, a Declaration of Parliament lately published. It was also resolved that the said Committee should confer with the Persons so deputed, report to the Parliament their Proceedings, and receive their further Directions in the same: And that the Council of State should give their Warrants for Money to defray the necessary Charges of this Service. In the English Commission were the Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Col. *George Fenwick*, Major *Richard Salway*, Sir *Arthur Heselrigge*, the Lords Commissioners *Whitlocke* and *Lisle*, the Lord-General *Cromwell*, Major-General *Harrison*, Col. *Sidney*, Mr. *Thomas Scott*, and Col. *Martin*, who were to meet the Scots Deputies in the late House of Lords.

Mr. *Ludlow* writes, 'That this Proposition of Union was chearfully accepted by the most judicious of the Scots Nation, who well understood what a great Condecension it was in the Parliament of England, to permit a People they had conquered to have a Share with them in the Legislative Power'. But the Scots Clergy, as another Contemporary informs us^u, protested against this

G 3 Union,

^t *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 388.

^u *Leath's Chronicle*, p. 307. — This Author (p. 325.) informs us, That, some Time after, the General Assembly of the Kirk having convened themselves at *Edinburgh*, with as much Authority as

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Union, 'Left such an Incorporation should draw with it a Subordination of the Kirk to the State in the Things of *Christ*.' However, the *Scots* were forced not only to send Deputies to bring down such Laws to them as their Conquerors thought proper to give, but also to submit to be tax'd by the Commonwealth of *England*. For,

An Assessment of
10,000 l. per
Menses laid up-
on Scotland.

Oct. 26. Upon a Report from the Lord-Commissioner *Whitlocke*, the House resolved, That a monthly Assessment of 10,000l. Sterling be laid upon *Scotland*; but with a particular Respect to the Ease of such Places as had or should comply with the Parliament's Tender of an Union, not only in regard of quartering of Soldiers, but also of abating their particular Assessments.

A Difference
with Denmark.

The Parliament had a high Displeasure this Month with the King of *Denmark*, who was then influenced against them by the States General. Some of our Merchant-Ships, on their Return from the *Baltic*, having, for Fear of the *Dutch* Fleet, put into *Copenhagen*, under the Protection of the *Danish* King, the Parliament sent out a Fleet of 18 Sail to convoy those Merchants home, but the *Danes* refused to deliver them; whereupon the *English* Fleet return'd without them. This occasioned a Remonstrance from the Parliament to the King of *Denmark*, about the detained Ships; and he sent over two Ambassadors to *England*, who had Audience of the House. All we can learn by the short Hints in the *Journals*, concerning their Embassy, is only this: That it was not pleasing to either Side; for, on the 29th, these Ambassadors took their Leave and departed.

Two printed Pamphlets, or Books, gave the House some Uneasiness at this Time; one intitled, *An Answer to the Declaration of the imaginary Parliament of the unknown Commonwealth of England*.

The
formerly, and falling into a hundred Factions, Lieut. Col. *Cottrell* was sent to disperse them from their Seats; which he roundly did, charging them, upon their Peril, not to attempt any such farther Meeting; and, to that Purpose, not any three of them should presume to meet or be seen together.

The other called *Merlini Anglici Ephemeris*; or, *Astrological Predictions for the Year 1653.* By William Lilly, Student in Astrology. The Parliament referred them both to the Council of State to find out the Authors, Printers, &c. and report their Opinions of it to the House.

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November. The Parliament went now upon Ways and Means to raise Money for carrying on the *Dutch War*, without laying more Taxes on the Public. This made the Case of the poor Delinquents much harder, for they searched into those Forfeitures, throughout *England*, with great Strictness and Severity: Insomuch, that an infinite Number of Names are mentioned in the *Journals* of this Month, of those unhappy Persons who were to be put in an additional Bill for Sale of their Estates in every Part of the Nation, in which the Royal Palaces, &c. were included; for an Order was made, That *Hyde-Park*, *Enfield-Chace*, *Hampton-Court*, *Bushy-Park*, *Greenwich* with its Appurtenances, and *Windser-Castle*, should be sold for ready Money. A Motion was also made for the Sale of *Somerfet-House*; but, upon the Question, it was saved, by a Division of 34 against 19.

Delinquents Estates and Crown Lands ordered to be sold.

The Election for a new Council of State was also, according to annual Custom, carried through this Month. The Serjeant at Arms, with his Mace, was ordered to go out and summon all the Members in *Westminster-Hall*, and the Parts adjacent, to attend the House. The Doors were then ordered to be shut, when the Number of Members present appeared to be 122. The 21 Members of the Council, to be continued for the Year ensuing, were, the Lord-General *Cromwell*, Lord-Commissioner *Whitlocke*, Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, Lord Chief Justice *Rolle*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, *Thomas Scott*, *Herbert Merley*, and *Dennis Bond*, Esq^{rs}. Col. *Puresoy*, *John Bradshaw*, Serjeant at Law, *John Gurdon*, Esq; Lord-Commissioner *Lisle*, Col. *Wauton*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *William Molyneux*, *Thomas Chaloner*

A new Council of State chosen.

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ner and *Robert Wallop, Esq^rs.* *Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Peter Wentworth, and Nicholas Love, Esq;*

The 20 new Members, now elected, were, *Robert Goodwin, Esq;* Alderman *Allen, Colonel Thompson, Walter Strickland, Esq;* *Sir Henry Mildmay, Major-General Skippon, Lord Grey, Col. Sidney, Edmund Prideaux, Esq;* Attorney-General, *Sir John Trevor, Col. Norton, Thomas Lister, Esq;* Col. *Ingeldsby, Sir John Bourchier, William Earl of Salisbury, William Cawley, Esq;* *Sir William Brereton, John Fielder and William Say, Esq^rs.* and Major-General *Harrison.*

A Dialogue between *Cromwell* and *Whitlocke* concerning the former's taking the Crown upon himself.

Amongst the Transactions of this Month, Mr. *Whitlocke* has given us a long Dialogue between *Cromwell* and himself, upon the Grand Question, Whether any Measure could be hit upon for settling the present Distractions of the Nation, but by Dissolving the Parliament and Restoring of Monarchy: And how far it would be safe for *Cromwell*, in such Case, to take the Crown upon himself? This Dialogue is in itself so extremely interesting, and contributes so much to the Illustration of some important Events now hastening upon us, that the Length thereof will be no Excuse for the Omission of it. We shall therefore give it at large in Mr. *Whitlocke's* own Words:

‘It was about this Time that the Lord-General *Cromwell*, meeting with *Whitlocke*, saluted him with more than ordinary Courtesy; and desired him to walk aside with him, that they might have some private Discourse together. *Whitlocke* waited on him, and he began the Discourse betwixt them, which was to this Effect:

CROMWELL. My Lord *Whitlocke*, I know your Faithfulness and Engagement in the same good Cause with myself and the rest of our Friends, and I know your Ability in Judgment, and your particular Friendship and Affection for me; indeed I am sufficiently satisfied in these Things, and therefore I desire to advise with you in the main and most important Affairs relating to our present Condition.

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WHITLOCKE. Your Excellency hath known me long, and I think will say that you never knew any Unfaithfulness or Breach of Trust by me; and for my particular Affection to your Person, your Favours to me, and your public Services, have deserved more than I can manifest; only there is, with your Favour, a Mistake in this one Thing, touching my weak Judgment, which is uncapable to do any considerable Service for yourself or this Commonwealth; yet, to the utmost of my Power, I shall be ready to serve you, and that with all Diligence and Faithfulness.

CROMWELL. I have Cause to be, and am, without the least Scruple of your Faithfulness, and I know your Kindness to me your old Friend, and your Abilities to serve the Commonwealth, and there are enough besides me that can testify it: And I believe our Engagements for this Commonwealth have been, and are, as deep as most Men's; and there never was more Need of Advice, and solid hearty Counsel, than the present State of our Affairs doth require.

WHITLOCKE. I suppose no Man will mention his particular Engagement in this Cause, at the same Time when your Excellency's Engagement is remembered; yet to my Capacity, and in my Station, few Men have engaged further than I have done; and that (besides the Goodness of your own Nature and personal Knowledge of me) will keep you from any Jealousy of my Faithfulness.

CROMWELL. I wish there were no more Ground of Suspicion of others, than of you. I can trust you with my Life, and the most secret Matters relating to our Business; and to that End I have now desired a little private Discourse with you; and really, my Lord, there is very great Cause for us to consider the dangerous Condition we are all in, and how to make good our Station, to improve the Mercies and Successes which God hath given us; and not to be fooled out of them again, nor to be broken in Pieces, by our particular Jarrings and Animosities one against another; but to unite our Counsels, and Hands and Hearts, to make good what we have so dearly bought, with so much Hazard, Blood, and Treasure; and
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that, the Lord having given us an intire Conquest over our Enemies, we should not now hazard all again by our private Janglings, and bring those Mischiefs upon ourselves, which our Enemies could never do.

WHITLOCKE. My Lord, I look upon our present Danger as greater than ever it was in the Field, and (as your Excellency truly observes) our Proneness to destroy ourselves, when our Enemies could not do it. It is no strange Thing for a gallant Army, as yours is, after full Conquest of their Enemies, to grow into Factions and ambitious Designs; and it is a Wonder to me that they are not in high Mutinies, their Spirits being active, and few thinking their Services to be duly-rewarded, and the Emulation of the Officers breaking out daily more and more, in this Time of their Vacancy from their Employment; besides, the private Soldiers, it may be feared, will, in this Time of their Idleness, grow into Disorder; and it is your excellent Conduct which, under God, hath kept them so long in Discipline, and free from Mutinies.

CROMWELL. I have used, and shall use, the utmost of my poor Endeavours to keep them all in Order and Obedience.

WHITLOCKE. Your Excellency hath done it hitherto even to Admiration.

CROMWELL. Truly God hath blessed me in it exceedingly, and I hope will do so still. Your Lordship hath observed most truly the Inclinations of the Officers of the Army to particular Factions, and to Murmurings that they are not rewarded according to their Deserts; that others, who have adventured least, have gained most; and they have neither Profit, nor Preferment, nor Place in Government, which others hold, who have undergone no Hardships nor Hazards for the Commonwealth; and herein they have too much of Truth, yet their Insolency is very great, and their Influence upon the private Soldiers works them to the like Discontents and Murmurings.

Then as for the Members of Parliament, the Army begins to have a strange Dislike against them, and I wish there were not too much Cause for it; and really
their

their Pride, and Ambition, and Self-seeking, ingrossing all Places of Honour and Profit to themselves and their Friends, and their daily breaking forth into new and violent Parties and Factions; their Delays of Business, and Designs to perpetuate themselves, and to continue the Power in their own Hands; their meddling in private Matters between Party and Party, contrary to the Institution of Parliaments, and their Injustice and Partiality in those Matters, and the scandalous Lives of some of the Chief of them; these Things, my Lord, do give too much Ground for People to open their Mouths against them, and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the Bounds of Justice, Law, or Reason; they themselves being the Supreme Power of the Nation, liable to no Account to any, nor to be controuled or regulated by any other Power, there being none superior, or co-ordinate with them: So that, unless there be some Authority and Power so full and so high as to restrain and keep Things in better Order, and that may be a Check to these Exorbitancies, it will be impossible, in human Reason, to prevent our Ruin.

WHITLOCKE. *I confess the Danger we are in by these Extravagances and inordinate Powers is more than I doubt is generally apprehended; yet as to that Part of it which concerns the Soldiery, your Excellency's Power and Commission is sufficient already to restrain and keep them in their due Obedience; and, blessed be God, you have done it hitherto, and I doubt not but, by your Wisdom, you will be able still to do it.*

As to the Members of Parliament, I confess the greatest Difficulty lies there; your Commission being from them, and they being acknowledged the Supreme Power of the Nation, subject to no Controuls, nor allowing any Appeal from them: Yet I am sure your Excellency will not look upon them as generally depraved; too many of them are much to blame in those Things you have mentioned, and many unfit Things have passed among them; but I hope well of the major Part of them, when great Matters come to a Decision.

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CROMWELL. *My Lord, there is little Hopes of a good Settlement to be made by them, really there is not; but a great deal of Fear, that they will destroy again what the Lord hath done graciously for them and us; we all forget God, and God will forget us, and give us up to Confusion; and these Men will help it on, if they be suffered to proceed in their Ways; some Course must be thought on to curb and restrain them, or we shall be ruined by them.*

WHITLOCKE. *We ourselves have acknowledged them the Supreme Power, and taken our Commissions and Authority in the highest Concernments from them; and how to restrain and curb them after this, it will be hard to find out a Way for it.*

CROMWELL. *What if a Man should take upon him to be King?*

WHITLOCKE. *I think that Remedy would be worse than the Disease.*

CROMWELL. *Why do you think so?*

WHITLOCKE. *As to your own Person the Title of King would be of no Advantage, because you have the full Kingly Power in you already, concerning the Militia, as you are General. As to the Nomination of Civil Officers, those whom you think fittest are seldom refused; and altho' you have no Negative Vote in the passing of Laws, yet what you dislike will not easily be carried; and the Taxes are already settled, and in your Power to dispose the Money raised. And as to Foreign Affairs, though the ceremonial Application be made to the Parliament, yet the Expectation of good or bad Success in it is from your Excellency; and particular Solicitations of Foreign Ministers are made to you only: So that I apprehend, indeed, less Envy and Danger, and Pomp, but not less Power, and real Opportunities of doing Good in your being General, than would be if you had assumed the Title of King.*

CROMWELL. *I have heard some of your Profession observe, That he who is actually King, whether by Election or by Descent, yet being once King, all Acts done by him as King are as lawful and justifiable as by any King who hath the Crown by Inheritance*

ance from his Forefathers : And that by an Act of Parliament in Henry the Seventh's Time, it is safer for those who act under a King, be his Title what it will, than for those who act under any other Power. And surely the Power of a King is so great and high, and so universally understood, and revered by the People of this Nation, that the Title of it might not only indemnify, in a great Measure, those that act under it, but likewise be of great Use and Advantage in such Times as these, to curb the Insolences of those whom the present Powers cannot controul, or at least are the Persons themselves who are thus insolent.

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WHITLOCKE. I agree in the general what you are pleased to observe as to this Title of King; but whether for your Excellency to take this Title upon you, as Things now are, will be for the Good and Advantage either of yourself and Friends, or of the Commonwealth, I do very much doubt; notwithstanding that Act of Parliament, 11. Hen. VII. which will be little regarded, or observed to us by our Enemies, if they should come to get the upper Hand of us.

CROMWELL. What do you apprehend would be the Danger of taking this Title?

WHITLOCKE. The Danger, I think, would be this: One of the main Points of Controversy betwixt us and our Adversaries is, whether the Government of this Nation shall be established in Monarchy, or in a Free State or Commonwealth; and most of our Friends have engaged with us upon the Hopes of having the Government settled in a Free State, and to effect that have undergone all their Hazards and Difficulties, they being persuaded, though I think much mistaken, that under the Government of a Commonwealth they shall enjoy more Liberty and Right, both as to their Spiritual and Civil Concernments, than they shall under Monarchy; the Pressures and Dislike whereof are so fresh in their Memories and Sufferings.

Now if your Excellency should take upon you the Title of King, this State of your Cause will be thereby wholly determined, and Monarchy established in

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your Person; and the Question will be no more whether our Government shall be by a Monarch, or by a Free State, but whether Cromwell or Stuart shall be our King and Monarch.

And that Question, wherein before so great Parties of the Nation were engaged, and which was universal, will by this Means become, in effect, a private Controversy only. Before it was National, What Kind of Government we should have, now it will become particular, Who shall be our Governor, whether of the Family of the Stuarts, or of the Family of the Cromwells?

Thus the State of our Controversy being totally changed, all those who were for a Commonwealth (and they are a very great and considerable Party) having their Hopes therein frustrated, will desert you; your Hands will be weakened, your Interest straitened, and your Cause in apparent Danger to be ruined.

CROMWELL. *I confess you speak Reason in this; but what other Thing can you propound that may obviate the present Dangers and Difficulties wherein we are all engaged?*

WHITLOCKE. *It will be the greatest Difficulty to find out such an Expedient. I have had many Things in my private Thoughts upon this Business, some of which perhaps are not fit, or safe, for me to communicate.*

CROMWELL. *I pray, my Lord, what are they? You may trust me with them; there shall no Prejudice come to you by any private Discourse betwixt us; I shall never betray my Friend; you may be as free with me as with your own Heart, and shall never suffer by it.*

WHITLOCKE. *I make no Scruple to put my Life and Fortune into your Excellency's Hand; and so I shall, if I impart these Fancies to you, which are weak, and perhaps may prove offensive to your Excellency; therefore my best Way will be to smother them.*

CROMWELL. *Nay, I prithee, my Lord Whitlocke, let me know them; be they what they will*
they

they cannot be offensive to me, but I shall take it kindly from you: Therefore, I pray, do not conceal those Thoughts of yours from your faithful Friend.

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WHITLOCKE. Your Excellency honours me with a Title far above me; and since you are pleased to command it, I shall discover to you my Thoughts herein; and humbly desire you not to take in ill Part what I shall say to you.

CROMWELL. Indeed I shall not; but I shall take it, as I said, very kindly from you.

WHITLOCKE. Give me Leave then, first, to consider your Excellency's Condition. You are environ'd with secret Enemies: Upon your subduing of the public Enemy, the Officers of your Army account themselves all Victors, and to have had an equal Share in the Conquest with you.

The Success which God hath given us, hath not a little elated their Minds; and many of them are busy and of turbulent Spirits, and are not without their Designs how they may dismount your Excellency, and some of themselves get up into the Saddle; how they may bring you down, and set up themselves.

They want not Counsel and Encouragement herein; it may be from some Members of the Parliament, who may be jealous of your Power and Greatness, lest you should grow too high for them, and in Time over-master them; and they will plot to bring you down first, or to clip your Wings.

CROMWELL. I thank you that you so fully consider my Condition; it is a Testimony of your Love to me, and Care of me, and you have rightly considered it; and I may say without Vanity, that in my Condition yours is involved and all our Friends; and those that plot my Ruin will hardly bear your Continuance in any Condition worthy of you. Besides this, the Cause itself may possibly receive some Disadvantage by the Strugglings and Contentions among ourselves. But what, Sir, are your Thoughts for Prevention of those Mischiefs that hang over our Heads?

WHITLOCKE. Pardon me, Sir, in the next Place, a little to consider the Condition of the King of Scots.

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This Prince being now by your Valour, and the Success which God hath given to the Parliament, and to the Army under your Command, reduced to a very low Condition; both he and all about him cannot but be very inclineable to hearken to any Terms, whereby their lost Hopes may be revived of his being restored to the Crown, and they to their Fortunes and native Country.

By a private Treaty with him you may secure yourself, and your Friends and their Fortunes; you may make yourself and your Posterity as great and permanent, to all Human Probability, as ever any Subject was, and provide for your Friends. You may put such Limits to Monarchical Power, as will secure our Spiritual and Civil Liberties, and you may secure the Cause in which we are all engaged; and this may be effectually done, by having the Power of the Militia continued in yourself, and whom you shall agree upon after you.

I propound, therefore, for your Excellency to send to the King of Scots, and to have a private Treaty with him for this Purpose; and I beseech you to pardon what I have said upon the Occasion. It is out of my Affection and Service to your Excellency, and to all honest Men; and I humbly pray you not to have any Jealousy thereupon of my approved Faithfulness to your Excellency and to this Commonwealth.

CROMWELL. I have not, I assure you, the least Distrust of your Faithfulness and Friendship to me, and to the Cause of this Commonwealth; and I think you have much Reason for what you propound; but it is a Matter of so high Importance and Difficulty, that it deserves more Time of Consideration and Debate than is at present allowed us: We shall therefore take a further Time to discourse of it.

With this, adds our Memorialist, the General brake off, and went to other Company, and so into Whitehall; seeming, by his Countenance and Carriage, displeased with what had been said; yet he never objected it against Mr. Whitlocke in any public Meeting afterwards: Only his Carriage towards

wards him, from that Time, was altered, and his advising with him not so frequent and intimate as before; and it was not long after that he found an Occasion, by an honourable Employment, to send him out of the Way, (as some of his nearest Relations, particularly his Daughter *Clayposle*, confessed) that he might be no Obstacle or Impediment to his ambitious Designs.

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But to return.—

December. The Naval War with the *Dutch* still continuing, with various Success on both Sides, the Parliament here was much embarrassed to raise Money to carry it on. The Council of State was ordered by the House to take into Consideration in what Manner Money might be had and raised for this present Service, with all possible Expedition, out of any of the Treasuries, or by any other Way they should think fit, and report it to the House. The said Council were also impowered to set forth such Ships for the present Service, as they should think convenient and necessary; and the Act for impressing Seamen was ordered to be revived and continued for one Year. All which shew how much the Government was straitened to carry on this expensive War.

The Parliament make vast Preparations for carrying on the *Dutch* War with Vigour,

But what made this Matter appear still plainer, was, that notwithstanding the almost immense Sums that were raised by the Sale of the Crown Lands, and the Estates of those who had followed the Fortune of it, they were necessitated to revive the Act for raising 120,000*l.* per *Mensem*, by way of Assessment, for six Months, from the 25th Inst. Eighty Thousand Pounds a Month, of this Sum, was to go towards Payment of the Land-Forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and the Residue of it for the Use of the Navy. The Proportions to be set upon the Counties for raising this Tax, were to be equal to the Rates formerly set in that Assessment. Six Commissioners were named, two of

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* An Embassy into *Sweden*.

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the House, two of the Council of State, and two out of the House, who, together with the three Admirals, *Blake*, *Deane*, and *Moncke*, should have the full Care, Inspection, and directive Power, in providing and furnishing every Thing for the Naval Service. The Commissioners of Excise were also ordered to permit each County to take the Excise in Farm; but not to lett it to particular Persons.

The Treaty with the Deputies from *Scotland* still went on; the Point they were now canvassing was the Proportion of Members for *Scotland* to sit in the *English* Parliament and the Time of their Sitting; which was, at last, referred to the Committee for the new Representative, to take the Number of those Members into Consideration, as well as those for *Ireland*, which was now also a conquered Country, and under the Dominion of this Commonwealth.

The rest of the Transactions in this Month are too inconsiderable for our Purpose; except we mention that the House gave Audience, in Form, to some foreign Ambassadors from *Spain* and *Portugal*, and also to an Envoy from *France*; the first Time that Court thought proper to pay Complement to this new Commonwealth. But it is observable that the *French* Minister's Credentials, the *Sieur De Bourdeaux*, being addressed thus, *A nos tres Chers et Grands Amis, le Gens du Parlement de la Republique d'Angleterre*, the House ordered *Sir Oliver Flemyng*, Master of the Ceremonies, to let him know that the *French* King's Letter not being directed in the Style given to the Parliament in all Addresses from Foreign States and Princes, they could not take any Notice thereof: This Resolution being communicated to the Envoy, he thought proper to conform to the Order of the House, and afterwards sent his Credentials to the Speaker, superscribed, *Au Parlement de la Republique d'Angleterre*. Whereupon he was admitted to an Audience, in the usual Form.

Lastly, Though the Parliament had forbid the Observation of *Christmas* for some Years past, yet this

this Year they were more than ordinarily careful to abolish that Festival: For they order'd all the Markets and Shops in *London* and *Westminster* to be kept open on *Christmas-Day*, particularly those in *Westminster-Hall*; and that no Observation or Solemnity should be used in any Churches on that Day. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, and the Justices of the Peace, were also required to see this Order strictly observed.

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January. The House began this Month with a very considerable Reduction of their Land-Forces, so as to lessen their Pay from the Monthly Sum of 80,000*l.* to 70,000*l.* a Month. This was done by Advice of the General and Officers of the Army with the Council of State, who had Power given them to make what other Alterations and Variations in the Army they should think fit. And reduce the Number of Land Forces.

Jan. 4. A long Day in the House: It was spent in making many Orders for planting of *Ireland* with Colonies from this Nation; and great Advantages were offered to those Persons, or Families, that would go over and settle there; all which is inserted at large, in the Proceedings of this Day, in the *Journals*.

Jan. 5. So many foreign Ambassadors and Envoys from Popish Princes were now in Town, that the State began to be jealous of their Followers. A Report was made from the Council, That great Numbers, as well *English* as others, did daily resort to Mass, at the Houses of Ambassadors and other foreign public Ministers residing here, to the great Dishonour of God, and Scandal to this Government. The House, on this, order'd, That it should be signified to the foreign Ministers to prohibit such Resorts to their Houses; and that a Reward of 10*l.* be paid upon the Conviction of every *English* Subject that should offend in this Particular. A Proclamation was also issued, commanding all *Jesuits* Orders against Resort to Mass at Ambassadors Chapels.

Inter-regnum. and *Romish* Priests to depart out of *England* and
1652. *Wales* before the first of *March* next.

February.

The Parliament ended this Month with another Fasting and Humiliation Day, which was kept in the House itself, no less than four Ministers being appointed to preach and pray before them. The Occasion of this Fast was, To seek unto Almighty God for a Blessing upon the Councils of this Commonwealth, and upon their Forces by Sea and Land.

February. As the last Month ended with a Day of particular Humiliation by the House itself, so this begins with an Order for a General Fast to be strictly kept, on the third of *March* next, throughout the whole Nation: But, before that Time, the House had Occasion to change their Fasting into Thanksgiving: For,

March 1. The following Letter, from the three Admirals of the Fleet, address'd to the Speaker, was read in the House. It is mentioned in the *Journals*, though not entered there; and we give it from the original Edition, printed by Authority of the Council of State.

Alcoud the Triumph, Feb. 27, 1652,
S I R, *in Stoke's Bay.*

A great Victory
obtained over the
Dutch, after an
Engagement of
three Days,

ON the 18th Instant in the Morning, being some five Leagues distant from the *English* Shore, we descried the *Dutch* Fleet early in the Morning; consisting (as we then judged, and are since informed by some of their own Number) of 80, all Men of War, and some 200 Merchantmen; a League and an half to Windward of the weathermost of our Ships, and of most of the Fleet two or three Leagues.

The Ship *Triumph*, with the *Fairfax*, *Speaker*, and about 20 more, being nearest unto them, the *Dutch* Admiral might probably (if he had pleased to have kept the Wind) gone away with his whole Fleet; and we had not been able to have reached
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‘ him with our main Body, only with a few Fri-
‘ gates, our best Sailers, which had not been likely
‘ to have done very much upon them; but the said
‘ Admiral, so soon as he had discovered us, put all
‘ his Merchantmen to Windward, and ordered
‘ them to stay there (as some that we have taken
‘ have since inform’d us) and himself, with his Body
‘ of Men of War, drew down upon us that were
‘ the weathermost Ships, where we were, in a short
‘ Time, engaged; and, by reason the greatest Part
‘ of our Ships were to Leeward, and much a-stern,
‘ those that were weathermost had a very sharp
‘ Conflict of it that whole Day, till about Four
‘ o’Clock in the Afternoon; by which Time a
‘ considerable Number of our Ships and Frigates
‘ had got so far a-head, that, by tacking, they could
‘ weather the greatest Part of the *Dutch* Fleet;
‘ which so soon as the *Dutch* Admiral perceived,
‘ he tack’d likewise, and those with him, and left
‘ us. We spent the Remainder of that Day and
‘ Night to man ourselves out of the weaker Ships,
‘ and to repair our Rigging, Masts, and Sails,
‘ without which we were not in a Capacity to
‘ move in the Sea. We took and destroyed, in
‘ this Day, seven or eight Men of War.

‘ They had Possession of Capt. *Barker* in the
‘ *Prosperous*, Capt. *Bourne* in the *Assistance*, the *Oak*,
‘ and some other Ships; but, blessed be God, we
‘ repossessed them again, with the Loss of some in
‘ the *Assistance*. The Leeward-most Part of our Ships
‘ continued fighting till Night separated, being en-
‘ gaged within two Hours as soon as we. We lost
‘ the *Sampson*, whereof Capt. *Butten* was Com-
‘ mander, which was so much torn and unservice-
‘ able, the Captain and many Men wounded and
‘ slain, that we took out the Men that were left,
‘ and let her sink into the Sea. At Night the
‘ *Dutch* Fleet and we kept as near one another as
‘ we could conveniently without mixing, each of
‘ us having our Lights abroad all Night. The
‘ Wind coming Westerly, and little Wind, they
‘ steered directly up the Channel, their Merchant-

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‘ men a-head, and Men of War in the Rear ; we
 ‘ were in the Morning some three or four Leagues
 ‘ to the Southward of the Isle of *Wight*.

‘ On the 19th, as soon as it was Day, we made
 ‘ what Sail we could after them, but, being calm,
 ‘ could not get up untill Noon, and our main Body
 ‘ not untill Two of the Clock ; by which Time
 ‘ we drew very near each other, and had warm
 ‘ Work while Night parted us. We took and de-
 ‘ stroyed this Day some five Sail of Men of War.
 ‘ The *Dutch* Fleet steered up the Channel with
 ‘ their Lights abroad ; we followed, the Wind at
 ‘ W. N. W. a fine little Gale all Night.

‘ On the 20th, about Nine in the Morning, we fell
 ‘ close in with them, with some five great Ships, and
 ‘ all the Frigates of Strength, though very many
 ‘ others could not come up that Day ; and seeing
 ‘ their Men of War somewhat weakened, we sent
 ‘ smaller Frigates and Ships of less Force, that
 ‘ could get up amongst the Merchantmen, which
 ‘ put their whole Body to a very great Trouble, so
 ‘ that many of them, and their Men of War, began
 ‘ to break off from their main Body ; and towards
 ‘ the Evening we pressed so hard upon them, that
 ‘ they turn’d their Merchantmen out of their Fleet
 ‘ upon us (as is conceived) for a Bait ; but we gave
 ‘ strict Order, that none of our Ships that could get
 ‘ up to their Men of War, and had Force, should
 ‘ meddle with any Merchantmen, but leave them
 ‘ to the Rear. We continued still fighting with
 ‘ them untill the Dusk of the Evening, by which
 ‘ Time we were some three Leagues and a half off
 ‘ *Blackness*, in *France*, the Wind at North-West,
 ‘ we steering directly for the Point of Land, ha-
 ‘ ving the Wind of the *Dutch* Fleet ; so that if it
 ‘ had pleased the Lord in his wise Providence, who
 ‘ sets Bounds to the Sea, and over-rules the Ways
 ‘ and Actions of Men, that it had been but
 ‘ three Hours longer to Night, we had probably
 ‘ made an Interposition between them and home ;
 ‘ whereby they might have been obliged to have
 ‘ made their Way through us with their Men of
 ‘ War

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‘ War, which at this Time were not above 35 as
‘ we could count, the rest being destroyed or
‘ dispersed. The Merchantmen also must have
‘ been necessitated to have run a-shore, or fallen
‘ into our Hands; which, as we conceive, the
‘ *Dutch* Admiral being sensible of, just as it was
‘ dark, bore directly in upon the Shore, where it
‘ is supposed he anchored, the Tide of Ebb being
‘ then come, which was a Leewardly Tide. We
‘ consulted with our Pilots, and Men knowing those
‘ Coasts, what it was possible for the Enemy to do;
‘ whose Opinions were, That he could not wea-
‘ ther the *French* Shore, as the Tide and the Wind
‘ then was, to get home, and that we must like-
‘ wise anchor, or we could not be able to carry it
‘ about the Flats of the *Soame*; whereupon we an-
‘ chored, *Blackness* being N. E. and by E. three
‘ Leagues from us.

‘ This Night being very dark, and blowing hard,
‘ the *Dutch* got away from us; so that in the Morn-
‘ ing of the 21st we could not discover one Ship
‘ more than our own, which were betwixt forty
‘ and fifty, the rest being scattered, and as many
‘ Prizes as made up sixty in all. We spent all this
‘ Night and Day, while twelve o’Clock, in sitting
‘ of our Ships, Masts, and Sails, for we were not
‘ capable to stir till they were repaired; at which
‘ Time, being a windward Tide and the *Dutch*
‘ Fleet gone, we weighed and stood over to the
‘ *English* Shore, fearing to stay longer upon the
‘ Coast, being a Lee-Shore.

‘ On the 22d, in the Morning, we were fair by
‘ the Isle of *Wight*, being the Place whereunto we
‘ then thought fit to repair for Accommodation;
‘ but the Wind blew so hard Northwardly we
‘ could not get in that Day.

‘ The 23d we weighed, and got near *St. He-
‘ len’s* Road, and sent for all the Captains on
‘ board to understand the State of the Fleet, but
‘ it blowing hard, we were not able to accomplish
‘ it; only we commanded all the Ships that were
‘ dis-

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‘ disabled to turn into *Stoke’s Bay*, and the rest remained about us.

‘ The 24th we sent for all the Captains on board of this Ship, and ordered out two Squadrons, one to ply to the Eastward, the other to the Westward, of the Isle of *Wight*: The last of which failed the 25th present.

‘ It hath blown so hard, we have scarce been able to send our Boats one from another, or do any Thing till this Day that we got up to this Place.

‘ Thus you see how it hath pleased the Lord to deal with us, poor unworthy Instruments, employed in this late Transaction, wherein he hath delivered into our Hands some seventeen or eighteen of their Ships of War, which have been by your Fleet (without the Loss of any one Ship, save the *Samfson*) taken and destroyed; besides Merchantmen, whose Number we know not, they being scattered to several Ports.

‘ We have many Men wounded, and divers both of Honesty and Worth slain.

Subscribed, { ROBERT BLAKE,
RICHARD DEANE,
GEORGE MONCKE.

P. S. ‘ Several of the *Dutch* are driven ashore in *France*, one without any Men at all in her.’

For which the Parliament order a Thanksgiving to God throughout the whole Commonwealth.

In consequence of this great Victory over the *Dutch*, the House ordered that Thanks be given to Almighty God, the next Lord’s Day, throughout *London* and *Westminster*. The Speaker was also directed to write a Letter of Congratulation to each of the three Admirals, taking Notice of the Parliament’s Resentment of their great and faithful Services in the late Engagement, with Thanks to them and the several Commanders under them: And a Collection was ordered to be made in the House, for the Widows of Sailors kill’d in the Action.

Soon after a Day of public Thanksgiving was appointed for this Victory, to be kept on the 12th of

of April, 1653, and observed throughout the whole Commonwealth. Inter-regnum.
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The *Dutch* were so exasperated for their ill Success in the late Battle against the *English* Nation; and their Enmity, says *Ludlow*, grew to such a Height, that, to render them odious, and encourage their own Subjects to come in and fight against them, they caused the Execution of the late King to be represented publickly on a Stage, in a most tragical Manner. But, however that was, it is certain that the *English* Fleet were generally too hard for the *Dutch*; and, excepting some Prejudice the former received from the other in two Encounters in the *Levant* Seas, about this Time, they beat them where-ever they met them.

March.

March 2. The House having resumed the Debate upon the Amendments to the Act for appointing a certain Time for the Dissolution of this present Parliament, and for calling and settling of future and successive Parliaments, they resolved, That 30 Members from *Scotland*, and no more, be allowed to sit in the *English* Parliament, with the same Number from *Ireland*. The Number proposed to represent the former was 33. and the latter 37; and this Motion was over-ruled by a Majority of only 28 against 26. Further Proceedings on the Bill for dissolving the Parliament.

March 9. The Debate on these Amendments was again renewed; when the House began to name the Number of Representatives each County and City were to send to Parliament; for many of the Boroughs were to be laid aside, or reduced in the Number they used to return. They continued to go on with this Bill every *Wednesday*, and made many Regulations and Alterations therein, *vice versâ*, without going through one third Part of the Nation: But as this whole Model was pursued and compleated in the Election of *Cromwell's* second Parliament, we shall therefore postpone a Description of it till we come to that Period, which is at no great Distance from us.

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A Committee of Parliament had long been sitting on what was called receiving Proposals for the Propagation of the Gospel: And having collected a Number, they laid them before the House this Month; the Particulars of which are too curious to be omitted.

Proposals for the
Propagation of
the Gospel.

1. ' That Persons of Godliness and Gifts, of the Universities, and others, though not ordained, may be admitted to preach the Gospel, and receive the public Maintenance, being approv'd when they are call'd thereunto.

2. ' That no Person shall be admitted to Trial and Approbation, unless he bring a Testimonial of his Piety and Soundness in the Faith, under the Hands of six godly Ministers and Christians, gathered together for that End and Purpose, unto whom he is personally known; of which Number, two at the least to be Ministers.

3. ' That a certain Number of Persons, Ministers, and others, of Eminency and known Ability and Godliness, be appointed to sit in every County, to examine, judge, and approve all such Persons, as, being called to preach the Gospel, have received Testimonials as above; and in case there shall not be found a competent Number of such Persons in the same County, that others, of one or more Neighbour Counties, be joined to them.

4. ' That Care be taken for removing the Residue of Ministers, who are ignorant, scandalous, Non-Residents, or Disturbers of the Public Peace; and likewise of all Schoolmasters, who shall be found popish, scandalous, or disaffected to the Government of this Commonwealth.

5. ' That, to this End, a Number of Persons, Ministers, and others, of eminent Piety, Zeal, Faithfulness, Ability, and Prudence, be appointed, by Authority of Parliament, to go thro' the Nation, to inquire after, examine, judge of, and eject all such Persons as shall be found unfit for the Ministry, or teaching Schools, being such as above are described.

6. ' That

6. ' That, for the expediting this Work, these Persons may be assigned in several Companies, or Committees, to the six Circuits of the Nation, to reside in each of the Counties, for such a convenient Space of Time as shall be requisite, untill the Work be done; calling to their Assistance, in their respective Circuits, such godly and able Persons, Ministers and others, in each of the Counties where they shall then reside, to assist them in this Work, as they shall think fit: That these Persons, so sent and commissioned, may be empowered, before they shall depart out of each County, to return, and to represent, to the Parliament, the Names of fit and sufficient Persons, Ministers, and others, to be appointed Approvers of such as shall be called to preach the Gospel in such Counties; and that, in the mean Time, the Persons so commissioned as aforesaid shall have Power, while they reside in each County, to examine, judge, and approve of such Persons, as, having a Call to preach the Gospel in such County, shall, upon such Testimonial as aforesaid, offer themselves to such Examination.

7. ' That it be proposed that the Parliament be pleased to take some speedy and effectual Course, either by empowering the Persons in the several Counties, to be appointed for Trial and Approbation of such Persons as shall be called to preach the Gospel there, or in such other Way as they shall think fit, for the uniting and dividing of Parishes in the several Counties and Cities within this Commonwealth, in reference to the preaching the Gospel there, saving the Civil Rights and Privileges of each Parish.

8. ' That the Ministers, so sent forth and established, be enjoined and required to attend the solemn Worship of God, in Prayer, Reading, and Preaching the Word, Catechising, expounding the Scriptures; and, as Occasion shall require, visiting the Sick, and instructing from House to House; residing amongst the People to whom they are sent,
and

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and using all Care and Diligence, by all Ways and Means, to win Souls unto *Christ*.

9. 'That as it is desired that no Persons be required to receive the Sacraments further than their Light shall lead them unto, so no Person sent forth to preach, and already placed, or which shall be placed, in any Parish within this Nation, be compelled to administer the Sacraments to any but such as he shall approve of as fit for the same.

10. 'That a Law may be provided, That all Persons whatsoever, within this Nation, be required to attend unto the public Preaching of the Gospel, and other religious Exercises there every Lord's Day, in Places commonly allowed, and usually called Churches, except such Persons as, through Scruple of Conscience, do abstain from those Assemblies: Provided that this Liberty be not understood to exempt Persons profanely, or otherwise wickedly, employed in the Time of the said Exercises.

11. 'That whereas divers Persons are not satisfied to come to the public Places of hearing the Word, upon this Account, That those Places were dedicated and consecrated, the Parliament will be pleased to declare, That such Places are made Use of, and continued, only for the better Conveniency of Persons meeting together for the public Worship of God, and upon no other Consideration.

12. 'That all Persons dissenting to the Doctrine and Way of Worship owned by the State, or consenting thereunto, and yet not having the Advantage or Opportunity of some of the public Meeting-Places, commonly called Churches, be required to meet (if they have any constant Meeting) in Places publickly known, and to give Notice unto some Magistrate of such their Place of ordinary Meetings.

13. 'That this Honourable Committee be desired to propose to the Parliament, That such who do not receive, but oppose, those Principles of Christian Religion, without the Acknowledgment
whereof

whereof the Scriptures do clearly and plainly affirm that Salvation is not to be obtained, (as those formerly complained of by the Ministers) may not be suffered to preach or promulgate any Thing in Opposition unto such Principles.

‘ And further, That the Parliament be humbly desired to take some speedy and effectual Course for the utter suppressing of that abominable Cheat of Judicial Astrology; whereby the Minds of Multitudes are corrupted, and turned aside, from Dependancy upon the Providence of God, to put their Trust in the Lyes of Men, and Delusions of Satan.’

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The Disquisition of all these Particulars (which were recommended to the Consideration of the Parliament by several Officers of the Army, and Ministers, whose Names are entered in the *Journals*) had afforded several Months Employment for the Committee: And upon the Report thereof to the House they resolved, ‘ That the Magistrate hath Power, in Matters of Religion, for the Propagation of the Gospel.’ They altered the first Proposal thus,

Resolved, ‘ That Persons of Godliness and Gifts, of the Universities, and others, though not ordained, that shall be approved, shall receive the Public Maintenance for preaching the Gospel.’

They agreed to the Second and Third, leaving out the Word *Eminency* in the latter: But made no farther Progress in these Proposals, occasioned, we suppose, by the sudden Dissolution of the Parliament.

Some Time since the Parliament had ordered, That *Henry Stuart*, commonly call'd Duke of *Gloucester*, youngest Son of the late King, should be released from *Carisbrooke-Castle*, in the Isle of *Wight*, and sent to *Dunkirk*: On the 17th of this Month they received Advice of his being arrived at *Breda*, where he was most affectionately received by his Sister the Princess Royal, Dowager of *Orange*.
The Duke of Gloucester sent out of the Kingdom.

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Orange.—The Reader may remember Sir *Thomas Widdrington's* Proposal, at the Conference held in *November, 1651*, touching this young Prince; which very probably induced *Cromwell* to get him sent abroad, by which Means there was left one Obstacle less in the Way of his Ambition.

The *Dutch* sue
for Peace.

The *Dutch* having been heartily drubb'd in their last Naval Engagement, seem now to lower their Top-sails, and sue for Peace. To that End we are told, by the *Journals*, that *Mynheer Pawe's* private Secretary was sent over with a Letter from the States of *Holland* and *West-Frizeland* to the Parliament; on which Occasion the House ordered the Council of State to prepare an Answer thereto, and a Letter address'd to the *States General*, both in *Latin*, for the Parliament's Approbation; which was done accordingly, and sent away by a special Messenger: But these Letters import- ed no more than a general Intimation of the Par- liament's good Disposition to Peace upon proper Terms.

We shall conclude the Proceedings of this Year with an Account of such Acts passed worth our No- tice, of which no Mention has been made under their respective Series. They were these:

Acts passed in
the Year 1652.

An Act *For prohibiting the Planting of Tobacco in England*: The Preamble sets forth, 'That great Quantities of Tobacco being planted in several Parts of *England*, tended to the Decay of Hus- bandry and Tillage, the Prejudice of the *English* Plantations, and of the Commerce and Navigation of the Commonwealth: Therefore it was enacted, That no Person should, after the 1st of *May, 1652*, plant or cure any Tobacco in any Ground whatso- ever in this Nation, on Forfeiture of 20*s.* for every Pole or Rod of Ground so employed; one Moiety thereof to the Use of the Commonwealth, and the other to the Discoverer or Protector; and that it should be lawful for any Person to grub up and de- stroy all such Tobacco.'

An

An Act *For the settling of Ireland*: The Purport of which was, ' That the Parliament having now totally reduced that Nation to their Obedience, had no Intention to extirpate the Natives thereof: But that Mercy and Pardon, both as to Life and Estate, should be extended to them, under certain Restrictions and Qualifications laid down in the Act, except such as had been any ways concerned in the Massacres and Murders in the Rebellion of 1641, all *Romish* Priests or *Jesuits*, also *James* Earl of *Ormond*, and many other Persons of Quality, whose Names are particularized; and all such who should not, within 28 Days after the Publication of the Act by the Parliament's Commissioners, or their Commander in Chief, in *Ireland*, lay down their Arms. Others were to forfeit two Thirds of their Estates, and be banished; the remaining Third to be paid to their Wives and Children'—But as we have already given the Parliament's Instructions to their Commissioners for the Settlement of *Ireland*, a farther Abstract of this Act is unnecessary.

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An Act *For requiring all Seamen to return home from the Service of Foreign States, and not to serve abroad without License*: Hereby it was enacted, ' That all Shipwrights and Mariners should return home from *France* and *Holland* within ten Weeks, from the *West-Indies* in one Year, and the *East-Indies* in two, upon Pain of Death: But Impeachments for any Offence against this Act were to be prosecuted within one Year after the Offender's Return; and his Oath, in his own Excuse, to be admitted: And all Shipwrights and Mariners, taken in Service against the Commonwealth, to be liable to the severest Penalties of the Law.

An Act *For suppressing unlicensed and scandalous Books*: By this Act that of the 20th of *September*, 1649^w, *For regulating of Printing*, was revived; and the Council of State was impower'd to continue, or suppress, what Printing-Houses they thought proper, and to appoint what Number of Apprentices and Presses each Master Printer should keep: That

^w See our Nineteenth Volume, p. 170.

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That none should exercise the Mystery of Printing, but such as were licensed by the Parliament or Council of State, or claimed a Privilege thereto by Patrimonial Right, or serving an Apprenticeship of seven Years, and exercised the same in their respective Dwelling-Houses, and not elsewhere, under the Penalty of 40*l.* for every Month, and so proportionably for any shorter or longer Time: That no Importer of Books should open the same, but in the Presence of the Master and Wardens of the Stationers Company, or whom they should appoint, under the Penalty of 5*l.* for every Offence; and all Books seized to be brought to Stationers Hall: That all Forfeitures might be sued for in any Court of Record, and if recovered by the Prosecution of the said Company of Stationers, one Moiety thereof, after deducting Charges of Recovery, to be applied to the Relief of their Poor; but if by the Prosecution of any other Person, one Moiety to go to his own Use; and the other Moiety, in both Cases, to be forfeited to the Commonwealth: That the Council of State should have the like Power as contained in the former Act; and that the Agent for the Army (instead of the Secretary as formerly) should have Power to license such Intelligence as concern'd the Affairs of the Army only. And it was provided that no Clause, in this or the former Act, should extend to the Infringement of the just Rights and Privileges of the Printers of either University.

1653.

April. This long-lived Parliament was now drawing very near its End, which was so sudden and unexpected, that few of its Members were the least aware of it. The House had pass'd an Act *For appointing Commissioners for Probate of Wills, and granting Administrations throughout England and Wales:* The Profits arising whereby, after Deduction of Officers Salaries, to be applied to the Use of the Navy; and were going on with the Election Bill, and some others of less Significancy; when

when on the 19th of this Month, after Debate on a Bill for settling the Claims of the Adventurers for Ireland, on a sudden the *Printed Journals* break off without any Notice taken of the Occasion; only we are told by the Publisher of them in a marginal Note, That there did an Entry follow; but against it was written, in the Margin of the Original, *This Entry was expunged, by Order of Parliament, January 7, 1659.*—In looking forwards into the *Journal* of that Day, we meet with the following Passage: ‘Whereas this House do find an Entry in the *Journal-Book* of the 20th of April, 1653, in these Words, *This Day his Excellency the Lord-General dissolved this Parliament*; which was done without Consent of Parliament; this House doth declare the same to be a Forgery; and do order Mr. *Scobell* to be sent for to the Bar to answer it.’—Mr. *Scobell* soon after appearing there, the Entry in the *Journal* was shewn him, and being ask’d Who made it? He acknowledged, That it was his own Hand-Writing, and that he did it without the Direction of any Person whatever. The House then ordered the Entry to be expunged out of the *Journal*, and referred it to a Committee to consider whether the then late Act of Indemnity extended to pardon that Offence, and report their Opinion of it to the House.

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Gen. Cromwell comes to the Parliament-House, and turns the Members out of Doors.

This is all we can pick out of the *Journals*, relating to this most remarkable Transaction; but since the Reader’s Curiosity may require a more explicit Account of it, we shall give a Narrative of the Manner of this Parliament’s being dismissed, from a *Diary** of equal Authority, in our Opinion, to that of the *Journals* themselves; being publish’d at the very Time of Action, and licensed by Mr. *Scobell*, Clerk of the House.—It runs thus:

‘The Officers of the Army have, for sixteen Weeks past, or more, used all possible Means to have persuaded the Parliament to have passed such

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I

Things

* *Several Proceedings in Parliament, and other Intelligence and Affairs, from Thursday the 14th of April, to Thursday the 21st of April, 1653.* Printed for Reber. *Idelson*, No. 136.

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Things as might be for the common Good, and proposed the Particulars to them; then many endeavoured to present Petitions from several Parts of the Nation to the Officers, but they refused to meddle, leaving it to the Parliament, desiring that all might be acted by them. The Officers used all private Means to persuade them, as they had Occasion from Time to Time, telling them, *How the Country-People did expect it*; and, after all that, sent a Letter, and had Meetings with divers whom they looked upon as most ready to promote the public Good; and at one Time met with almost thirty, and endeavoured to engage them to act therein; giving them Reasons for the passing of those Things which they proposed, for the general Good of the People: But the Members only answered, *That when they were in Parliament they had Liberty of their Yeas and their Noes.*

‘The last Night before this Dismission, there were near twenty Members of Parliament with the General, to whom the Danger of the Act, for calling a new Representative, was declared, as the House was about to pass it; it giving so much Liberty, that many disaffected Persons might be chosen; and by the said Act these present Members were to sit and to be made up by others chosen, and by themselves approved of: Hereupon they engaged not to meddle with it this Day; and when Major-General *Harrison* saw, this Morning, that they fell upon it, he most sweetly and humbly desired them to lay it aside, shewing them the Danger of it: But they going on, the Lord-General’s Excellency required them to depart the House; and Lieutenant-Colonel *Worsley*, with some Soldiers, came in and ordered the House to be cleared; took the Mace away, and caused the House to be locked up.

‘The next Day there was a Paper, by somebody, posted upon the Parliament-House Door, thus:

This House is to be Lett, now unfurnished.

Upon which the Author of the *Narrative* makes
this

this Remark, 'That those who abuse the Godly of the late Members of Parliament, without a Cause, will not be approved therein; some being such for Piety and Worth, as probably may be Governors of the Nation again.'

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To this *Narrative* may be very properly subjoined what the Contemporary Writers have left us concerning this Affair :

And first Mr. *Whitlocke*, who being a very active Member of this Parliament, was probably an Eye-Witness of its Dissolution. This Gentleman writes thus * :

' On the 19th of *April* there having been a great Meeting at *Cromwell's* Lodgings at *Whitehall*, of Parliament Men, and several Officers of the Army, sent to by *Cromwell* to be there; and a large Discourse and Debate having been amongst them touching some Expedient to be found out, for the present carrying on of the Government of the Commonwealth, and putting a Period to this present Parliament, it was offered by divers, as a most dangerous Thing to dissolve the present Parliament, and to set up any other Government; and that it would neither be warrantable in Conscience or Wisdom so to do; yet none of them express'd themselves so freely to that Purpose as Sir *Thomas Widdrington* and *Whitlocke* then did.

' Of the other Opinion, as to putting a Period forthwith to this Parliament, *St. John* was one of the chief, and many more with him, and generally all the Officers of the Army; who stuck close in this likewise to their General.

' And the better to make Way for themselves and their ambitious Design of advancing them to the Civil Government, as well as they were in the Military Power, they and their Party declared their Opinions, That it was necessary the same should be done one Way or other, and the Members of Parliament not permitted to prolong their own Power.'

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‘ At which Expression *Cromwell* seem’d to reprove some of them; and this Conference lasted till late at Night, when *Widdrington* and *Whitlocke* went home weary, and troubled to see the Indiscretion and Ingratitude of those Men, and the Way they design’d to ruin themselves; therefore these came early again the next Morning, according to Appointment, to *Cromwell*’s Lodging, where there were but a few Parliament Men, and a few Officers of the Army.

‘ A Point was again stirr’d, which had been debated the Night before, ‘ Whether 40 Persons, or ‘ about that Number of Parliament Men and Officers of the Army, should be nominated by the ‘ Parliament, and impow’er’d for the managing ‘ the Affairs of the Commonwealth, till a new Parliament should meet, and so the present Parliament to be forthwith dissolv’d.’

‘ *Whitlocke* was against this Proposal, and the more, fearing lest he might be one of these forty; who, he thought, would be in a desperate Condition after the Parliament should be dissolved: But others were very ambitious to be of this Number and Council, and to be invest’d with this exorbitant Power in them.

‘ *Cromwell* being inform’d, during this Debate, that the Parliament was sitting, and that it was hop’d they would put a Period to themselves; which would be the most honourable Dissolution for them: Hereupon he broke off the Meeting, and the Members of Parliament with him left him at his Lodging, went to the House, and found them in Debate of an Act, the which would occasion other Meetings of them again, and prolong their Sitting.

‘ Thereupon Col. *Ingoldsby* went back to *Cromwell*, and told him what the House were doing; who was so enraged thereat, expecting they should have meddled with no other Business but putting a Period to their own Sitting without more Delay, that he presently commanded some of the Officers of the Army to fetch a Party of Soldiers, with whom

whom he marched to the House, and led a File of Musketeers in with him; the rest he placed at the Door of the House, and in the Lobby before it.

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‘ In this Manner entering the House, he, in a furious Manner, bid the Speaker leave his Chair; told the House ‘ That they had sat long enough, ‘ unless they had done more Good; that some of ‘ them were Whoremasters, (looking then towards ‘ *Henry Martyn* and *Sir Peter Wentworth*) that ‘ others of them were Drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust Men, and scandalous to the Profession of the Gospel; and that it was not fit ‘ they should sit as a Parliament any longer, and ‘ desired them to go away.’

‘ The Speaker not stirring from his Seat, Colonel *Harrison*, who sat near the Chair, rose up and took him by the Arm, to remove him from his Seat; which when the Speaker saw he left his Chair.


‘ Some of the Members rose up to answer *Cromwell’s* Speech, but he would suffer none to speak but himself; which he did with so much Arrogance in himself, and Reproach to his Fellow Members, that some of his Privadoes were ashamed of it: But he, and his Officers and Party, would have it so; and among all the Parliament Men, of whom many wore Swords, and would sometimes brag high, not one Man offered to draw his Sword against *Cromwell*, or to make the least Resistance against him; but all of them tamely departed the House.

‘ He bid one of his Soldiers to take away that Fool’s Bauble, the Mace; and stayed himself to see all the Members out of the House, himself the last of them, and then caused the Doors of the House to be shut up.’

The next is Mr. *Ludlow’s* Account, who was also a Member of this Parliament: But at the Time when the Dissolution happened was in *Ireland*, being one of the Commissioners for settling the

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the Affairs of that Kingdom. This Circumstance enables us to account for one Mistake, where he says, That the Parliament was resolved to pass an Act for their own immediate Dissolution; but it does not appear so by the *Journals*, or that they intended it sooner than by a former Resolution (which fix'd the Period thereof to Nov. 3, 1654) they were obliged to do: For though they continued their Debates on the Election Bill, weekly, yet these were more about regulating the Numbers that were to sit in future Parliaments, and what Places should return Members, than about their own Dissolution, for which no Question was ever put, in the House. Allowing this, the following Testimony of Mr. *Ludlow* may be good, though it differs in other Matters also from the former ^v.

‘ The Parliament now perceiving to what Kind of Excesses the Madness of the Army was like to carry them, resolved to leave, as a Legacy to the People, the Government of the Commonwealth by their Representatives, when assembled in Parliament; and, in the Intervals thereof, by a Council of State, chosen by them, and to continue till the Meeting of the next succeeding Parliament, to whom they were to give an Account of their Conduct and Management. To this End they resolved, without any further Delay, to pass the Act for their own Dissolution; of which *Cromwell* having Notice, makes Haste to the House, where he sat down and heard the Debate some Time: Then calling to Major-General *Harrison*, who was on the other Side of the House, to come to him, he told him, ‘ That he judged the Parliament ripe
‘ for a Dissolution, and this to be the Time of doing it.’ The Major answered, as he since told me, *Sir, the Work is very great and dangerous, therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it before you engage in it.* You say well, replied the General, and thereupon sat still for about a Quarter of an Hour; and then the Question for passing the Bill being to be put, he said again to Major-General

Har-

Harrison, This is the Time: I must do it; and, suddenly standing up, he made a Speech, wherein he loaded the Parliament with the vilest Reproaches, charging them, 'not to have a Heart to do any Thing for the Public Good; to have espoused the corrupt Interest of Presbytery and the Lawyers, who were the Supporters of Tyranny and Oppression; accusing them of an Intention to perpetuate themselves in Power, had they not been forced to the passing of this Act, which he affirmed they design'd never to observe; and thereupon told them, that the Lord had done with them, and had chosen other Instruments for carrying on his Work that were more worthy.' This he spake with so much-Passion and Discomposure of Mind, as if he had been distracted.

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'Sir *Peter Wentworth* stood up to answer him, and said, 'That this was the first Time that ever he had heard such unbecoming Language given to the Parliament; and that it was the more horrid in that it came from their Servant, and their Servant whom they had so highly trusted and obliged.' But as he was going on, the General slept into the Midst of the House, where, continuing his distracted Language, he said, *Come, come, I will put an End to your Prating*; then walking up and down the House like a Mad-man, and kicking the Ground with his Feet, he cried out, *You are no Parliament; I say you are no Parliament: I will put an End to your Sitting: Call them in, call them in*: Whereupon the Serjeant attending the Parliament, open'd the Doors, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Worley*, with two Files of Musketeers, enter'd the House; which Sir *Henry Vane* observing from his Place, said aloud, *This is not honest; yea, it is against Morality and common Honesty.* Then *Cromwell* fell railing at him, crying out with a loud Voice, *O Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Vane, the Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane.* Then looking upon one of the Members, he said, *There sits a Drunkard*; and giving much reviling Language to others, he

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he commanded the Mace to be taken away, saying, *What shall we do with this Bauble? Here, take it away.* Having brought all into this Disorder, Major-General *Harrison* went to the Speaker as he sat in the Chair, and told him, ‘That seeing Things were reduced to this Pass, it would not be convenient for him to remain there.’ The Speaker answered, ‘That he would not come down unless he were forced.’ Sir, said *Harrison*, *I will lend you my Hand*; and thereupon putting his Hand within his, the Speaker came down. Then *Cromwell* applied himself to the Members of the House, who were in Number between 80 and 100, and said to them, *It is you that have forced me to this, for I have sought the Lord Night and Day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this Work.* Hereupon Alderman *Allen*, a Member of Parliament, told him, ‘That it was not yet gone so far, but all Things might be restored again; and that if the Soldiers were commanded out of the House, and the Mace returned, the public Affairs might go on in their former Course.’ But *Cromwell* having now pass’d the Rubicon, not only rejected his Advice, but charged him with an Account of some hundred thousand Pounds, for which he threatened to question him, having been long Treasurer for the Army; and in a Rage committed him to the Custody of one of the Muskeeteers. Alderman *Allen* told him, ‘That it was well known that it had not been his Fault that his Account was not made up long since; that he had often tendered it to the House; and that he asked no Favour from any Man in that Matter.’

‘*Cromwell* having acted this treacherous and impious Part, ordered the Guard to see the House clear’d of all the Members; and then seiz’d upon the Records that were there, and at Mr. *Sashell*’s House. After which he went to the Clerk, and snatching the Act of Dissolution, which was ready to pass, out of his Hand, he put it under his Cloak; and, having commanded the Doors to be lock’d up, went away to *Whitehall*.’

Crom-

Cromwell having thus dispatched this grand Affair, and deposed the late Lords and Masters at *Westminster*, from their Dominion and Sovereignty in this Nation, went in the Afternoon of the same Day to the Place where the Council of State usually sat, and finding many of them there, he accosted them thus: *Gentlemen, if you are met here as private Persons, you shall not be disturb'd; but if as a Council of State, this is no Place for you: And since you cannot but know what was done at the House in the Morning, so take Notice that the Parliament is dissolved.* To this Serjeant *Bradshaw* answered, *Sir, we have heard what you did at the House in the Morning, and before many Hours all England will know it: But, Sir, you are mistaken to think that the Parliament is dissolved; for no Power under Heaven can dissolve them but themselves; therefore take you Notice of that.* Something more was said to the same Purpose, by *Sir Arthur Haselrigge*, *Mr. Love*, and *Mr. Scott*; but all of them, perceiving themselves to be under the same Violence, thought proper to withdraw.

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The next Step our Hero took was to issue out, in his own Name and his Council of Officers, the following Declaration of the Grounds and Reasons for dissolving the Parliament ^z.

Whitehall, April 22, 1653.

‘ **O**UR Intention is not to give an Account, A Declaration of
‘ at this Time, of the Grounds which first the Grounds and
‘ moved us to take up Arms, and engage our Lives Reasons for his
‘ and all that was dear unto us in this Cause; nor thus dissolving
‘ to mind, in this Declaration, the various Dis- the Parliament
‘ pensations through which Divine Providence hath by Force;
‘ led us, or the Witness the Lord hath borne,
‘ and the many signal Testimonies of Acceptance
‘ which he hath given, to the sincere Endeavours of
‘ his unworthy Servants, whilst they were contest-
‘ ing with the many and great Difficulties, as well
‘ in

^z From the original Edition, printed by *Henry Hills* and *Thomas Breesepler*, Printers to the Army. It was also published in *French*, by Authority, for the Information of Foreigners,

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‘ in the Wars, as other Transactions in the three
 ‘ Nations ; being necessitated, for the Defence of
 ‘ the same Cause they first asserted, to have Re-
 ‘ course unto extraordinary Actions, the same be-
 ‘ ing evident by former Declarations published on
 ‘ that Behalf.

‘ After it had pleased God not only to reduce
 ‘ *Ireland* and give in *Scotland*, but so marvelously
 ‘ to appear for his People at *Worcester*, that these
 ‘ Nations were reduced to a great Degree of Peace,
 ‘ and *England* to perfect Quiet, and thereby the
 ‘ Parliament had Opportunity to give the People
 ‘ the Harvest of all their Labour, Blood, and Trea-
 ‘ sure, and to settle a due Liberty both in reference
 ‘ to Civil and Spiritual Things, whereunto they
 ‘ were obliged by their Duty, their Engagements,
 ‘ as also the great and wonderful Things which
 ‘ God hath wrought for them ; it was Matter of
 ‘ much Grief to the Good and Well-affected of
 ‘ the Land, to observe the little Progress which
 ‘ was made therein, who thereupon applied to the
 ‘ Army, expecting Redress by their Means ; not-
 ‘ withstanding which, the Army being unwilling
 ‘ to meddle with the Civil Authority in Matters so
 ‘ properly appertaining to it, it was agreed, That
 ‘ his Excellency, and Officers of the Army which
 ‘ were Members of Parliament, should be desired
 ‘ to move the Parliament to proceed vigorously in
 ‘ reforming what was amiss in Government, and
 ‘ to the settling of the Commonwealth upon a
 ‘ Foundation of Justice and Righteousness ; which
 ‘ having done, we hoped that the Parliament would
 ‘ seasonably have answered our Expectation : But
 ‘ finding, to our Grief, Delays therein, we re-
 ‘ newed our Desires in an humble Petition to them,
 ‘ which was presented in *August* last ; and although
 ‘ they at that Time, signifying their good Accept-
 ‘ ance thereof, returned us Thanks, and referred
 ‘ the Particulars thereof to a Committee of the
 ‘ House, yet no considerable Effect was produced,
 ‘ nor any such Progress made, as might imply their
 ‘ real

‘ real Intentions to accomplish what was petitioned
 ‘ for; but, on the contrary, there more and more ap-
 ‘ peared amongst them an Aversion to the Things
 ‘ themselves, with much Bitterness and Opposi-
 ‘ tion to the People of God, and his Spirit acting
 ‘ in them; which grew so prevalent, that those
 ‘ Persons of Honour and Integrity amongst them,
 ‘ who had eminently appeared for God and the
 ‘ Public Good, both before and throughout this
 ‘ War, were rendered of no further Use in Par-
 ‘ liament, than by meeting with a corrupt Party to
 ‘ give them Countenance to carry on their Ends,
 ‘ and for effecting the Desire they had of perpetu-
 ‘ ating themselves in the Supreme Government,
 ‘ for which Purpose the said Party long opposed,
 ‘ and frequently declared themselves against ha-
 ‘ ving, a new Representative: And when they saw
 ‘ themselves necessitated to take that Bill into Con-
 ‘ sideration, they resolved to make Use of it to re-
 ‘ cruit the House, with Persons of the same Spirit
 ‘ and Temper, thereby to perpetuate their own Sit-
 ‘ ting; which Intention divers of the Activest a-
 ‘ mongst them did manifest, labouring to persuade
 ‘ others to a Consent therein: And the better to
 ‘ effect this, divers Petitions, preparing from se-
 ‘ veral Counties for the Continuance of this Parlia-
 ‘ ment, were encouraged, if not set on Foot, by
 ‘ many of them.

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‘ For obviating of these Evils, the Officers of
 ‘ the Army obtained several Meetings with some
 ‘ of the Parliament, to consider what fitting Means
 ‘ and Remedy might be applied to prevent the
 ‘ same: But such Endeavours proving altogether
 ‘ ineffectual, it became most evident to the Army,
 ‘ as they doubt not it also is to all considering Per-
 ‘ sons, that this Parliament, through the Corrup-
 ‘ tion of some, the Jealousy of others, the Non-
 ‘ Attendance and Negligence of many, would ne-
 ‘ ver answer those Ends which God, his People,
 ‘ and the whole Nation expected from them; but
 ‘ that this Cause, which the Lord hath so greatly
 ‘ blessed, and bore Witness to, must needs languish
 ‘ under

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‘ under their Hands, and, by Degrees, be wholly
 ‘ lost; and the Lives, Liberties, and Comforts of
 ‘ his People delivered into their Enemies Hands.

‘ All which being sadly and seriously considered
 ‘ by the honest People of this Nation, as well as
 ‘ by the Army, and Wisdom and Direction being
 ‘ sought from the Lord, it seemed to be a Duty
 ‘ incumbent upon us, who had seen so much of
 ‘ the Power and Presence of God going along with
 ‘ us, to consider of some more effectual Means to
 ‘ secure the Cause which the good People of this
 ‘ Commonwealth had been so long engaged in,
 ‘ and to establish Righteousness and Peace in these
 ‘ Nations.

‘ And after much Debate it was judged necessary, and agreed upon, That the Supreme Authority should be, by the Parliament, devolved upon known Persons, Men fearing God, and of approved Integrity; and the Government of the Commonwealth committed unto them for a Time, as the most hopeful Way to encourage and countenance all God’s People, reform the Law, and administer Justice impartially; hoping thereby the People might forget Monarchy, and, understanding their true Interest in the Election of successive Parliaments, may have the Government settled upon a true Basis, without Hazard to this glorious Cause, or necessitating to keep up Armies for the Defence of the same. And being still resolved to use all Means possible to avoid extraordinary Courses, we prevailed with about twenty Members of Parliament to give us a Conference, with whom we freely and plainly debated the Necessity and Justness of our Proposals on that Behalf; and did evidence, that those, and not the Act under their Consideration, would most probably bring forth something answerable to that Work, the Foundation whereof God himself hath laid, and is now carrying on in the World.

‘ The which, notwithstanding, found no Acceptance; but, instead thereof, it was offered, that the Way was to continue still this present
 ‘ Par-

Parliament, as being that from which we might reasonably expect all good Things: And this being vehemently insisted upon, did much confirm us in our Apprehensions, that not any Love to a Representative, but the making Use thereof to recruit, and so perpetuate themselves, was their Aim.

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They being plainly dealt with about this, and told that neither the Nation, the honest Interest, nor we ourselves, would be deluded by such Dealings, they did agree to meet again the next Day in the Afternoon for mutual Satisfaction; it being consented unto by the Members present, that Endeavours should be used that nothing in the mean Time should be done in Parliament that might exclude or frustrate the Proposals before-mentioned.

Notwithstanding this, the next Morning the Parliament did make more Hastle than usual, in carrying on their said Act, being helped on therein by some of the Persons engaged to us the Night before; none of them which were then present endeavouring to oppose the same: And being ready to put the main Question for consummating the said Act, whereby our aforesaid Proposals would have been rendred void, and the Way of bringing them into a fair and full Debate in Parliament obstructed; for preventing thereof, and all the sad and evil Consequences which must, upon the Grounds aforesaid, have ensued; and whereby, at one Blow, the Interest of all honest Men, and of this glorious Cause, had been in Danger to be laid in the Dust, and these Nations embroiled in new Troubles, at a Time when our Enemies abroad are watching all Advantages against us, and some of them actually engaged in War with us, we have been necessitated, though with much Reluctancy, to put an End to this Parliament; which yet we have done, we hope, out of an honest Heart, preferring this Cause above our Names, Lives, Families, or Interests, how dear soever; with clear Intentions and real

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‘ Purposes of Heart, to call to the Government
 ‘ Persons of approved Fidelity and Honesty; be-
 ‘ lieving that as no wise Men will expect to gather
 ‘ Grapes of Thorns, so good Men will hope, that
 ‘ if Persons so qualified be chosen, the Fruits of a
 ‘ just and a righteous Reformation, so long prayed
 ‘ and wished for, will, by the Blessing of God, be
 ‘ in due Time obtained, to the refreshing of all
 ‘ those good Hearts who have been panting after
 ‘ those Things.

‘ Much more might have been said, if it had
 ‘ been our Desire to justify ourselves by aspersing
 ‘ others, and raking into the Misgovernment of
 ‘ Affairs; but we shall conclude with this, That as
 ‘ we have been led by Necessity and Providence to
 ‘ act as we have done, even beyond and above our
 ‘ own Thoughts and Desires; so we shall, and do,
 ‘ in that Part of this great Work which is behind,
 ‘ put ourselves wholly upon the Lord for a Blessing;
 ‘ professing, we look not to stand one Day without
 ‘ his Support, much less to bring to pass any of the
 ‘ Things mentioned and desired, without his As-
 ‘ sistance; and therefore do solemnly desire and ex-
 ‘ pect, that all Men, as they would not provoke
 ‘ the Lord to their own Destruction, should wait
 ‘ for such Issue as he should bring forth, and to
 ‘ follow their Business with peaceable Spirits;
 ‘ wherein we promise them Protection by his As-
 ‘ sistance.

‘ And for those who profess their Fear and Love
 ‘ to the Name of God, that seeing in a great Mea-
 ‘ sure for their Sakes, and for Righteousness Sake,
 ‘ we have taken our Lives in our Hands to do
 ‘ these Things, they would be instant with the
 ‘ Lord Day and Night on our Behalves, that we
 ‘ may obtain Grace from him; and seeing we
 ‘ have made so often mention of his Name, that
 ‘ we may not do the least Dishonour thereunto;
 ‘ which indeed would be our Confusion, and a Stain
 ‘ to the whole Profession of Godliness.

‘ We beseech them also to live in all Humility,
 ‘ Meekness, Righteousness, and Love one towards
 ‘ another,

‘ another, and towards all Men, that so they may
 ‘ put to silence the Ignorance of the Foolish, who
 ‘ falsely accuse them; and to know that the late great
 ‘ and glorious Dispensations, wherein the Lord
 ‘ hath so wonderfully appeared in bringing forth
 ‘ these Things by the Travel and Blood of his
 ‘ Children, ought to oblige them so to walk in the
 ‘ Wisdom and Love of *Christ*, as may cause others
 ‘ to honour their holy Profession; because they see
 ‘ *Christ* to be in them of a Truth. .

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‘ We do further purpose, before it be long, more
 ‘ particularly to shew the Grounds of our Proceed-
 ‘ ings, and the Reasons of this late great Action
 ‘ and Change, which in this we have but hinted
 ‘ at.

‘ And we do lastly declare, That all Judges,
 ‘ Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs,
 ‘ Committees and Commissioners, and all other
 ‘ Civil Officers and Public Ministers whatsoever,
 ‘ within this Commonwealth, or any Parts there-
 ‘ of, do proceed in their respective Places and Of-
 ‘ fices; and all Persons whatsoever are to give Obe-
 ‘ dience to them as fully as when the Parliament
 ‘ was sitting ^a.

*Signed in the Name, and by the Appointment,
 of his Excellency the Lord-General, and his
 Council of Officers,*

WILL. MALYN, *Secretary.*

Cromwell and his Officers having thus gain'd the
 Power of Government into their Hands, were com-
 plimented from all Parts of *England*, on the Justice
 of his late Action; and with Engagements to stand
 by them with their Lives and Fortunes. The *Diaries*
 of these Times abound with Addresses of this Sort;
 but the two following, published by Authority ^b,
 will be a sufficient Specimen of the rest.

Which gives a
 general Satisfac-
 tion.

To

^a Mr. *Wetlocke* says, ‘ That, upon this Declaration, he and his
 Colleagues, Commissioners of the Great Seal, proceeded to do Bu-
 siness, considering they had their Authority from the late Parlia-
 ment, tho’ they had delayed it till this Declaration was published.’

^b Printed for R. *Thibbes*, and licensed by the Agent-General to
 the Army, in pursuance of the late Act for the suppressing of scan-
 dalous Books.

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*To his Excellency the Lord-General CROMWELL,
and the Honourable the OFFICERS of the ARMY,*

*The HUMBLE PETITION of the CHURCHES of
CHRIST, &c.*

Sheweth,

An Address of
Congratulation
to him, from the
Churches, on
that Occasion;

‘ **T**HAT after many Prayers by us put up to
‘ the Throne of Grace for you, seeing now
‘ a glorious Return of a great Part of that we have
‘ prayed for, acted so sweetly by you, we cannot
‘ but render this humble Acknowledgment of
‘ God’s Goodness to us, and the rest of God’s
‘ People in the Nation therein; *and unto God do*
‘ *we give Thanks, for his Name is near, his won-*
‘ *drous Works declare* (Psal. lxxv, ver. 1.) And we
‘ are very sensible that we could not expect upright
‘ Judgment (ver. 2.) from the late Parliament in
‘ that Way they acted; and are strongly persuaded
‘ to believe, that it must be another Congregation
‘ that must first be received by God, that is to be
‘ established before the Work of the Lord be done,
‘ which we hope is now bringing forth by you: So
‘ that though the Parliament, representing all the
‘ Inhabitants of this Nation, be dissolved, yet we
‘ doubt not but our God bears up the Pillars of the
‘ Land. the Saints (ver. 3.). And we are very
‘ sensible of the great Endeavours that have been
‘ by you laboured many Weeks together, to have
‘ persuaded them to have acted those Things, by
‘ you long since represented to them, which might
‘ have been much for the general Good of the
‘ People of God in this Nation: And God said
‘ often by you, unto many of those Fools, *Deal not*
‘ *foolishly; and to the wicked Ones among them, lift*
‘ *not up the Horn* (ver. 4.); and to all of them,
‘ *Lift not up your Horn on high, speak not with a*
‘ *stiff Neck* (ver. 5.): And now when no other
‘ Means would prevail, the Lord hath let them
‘ witness in his Actings by you, that though they
‘ were sent from several Parts of the Nation, yet
‘ *Consent cometh neither from the East nor from*
‘ *the*

‘ *the West, nor from the South* (ver. 6.); and that
 ‘ God himself is Judge, (ver. 7.) he hath put them
 ‘ down, that they may no longer sit to deceive the
 ‘ Nation, and he is setting up others in their Stead.

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‘ Our Petition to your Excellency therefore is,
 ‘ *First*, That you, whom we look upon as our
 ‘ *Moses* leading God’s People, would be pleased,
 ‘ as always you have been, still to be for the People
 ‘ to God-ward; that you may bring the Causes
 ‘ unto God, (*Exod* xviii, ver. 19.) and advance the
 ‘ Scepter of our Lord *Jesus*.

‘ *Secondly*, That you will remove the Grievances
 ‘ of Law-Suits, and teach us Ordinances and Laws;
 ‘ and shew us the Way wherein we must walk, and
 ‘ the Work that we must do (ver. 20.) for the Glory
 ‘ of God, the Peace and Welfare of the Nation.

‘ *Thirdly*, That you will not leave the Choice
 ‘ of those that shall govern us to the Liberty of the
 ‘ Counties, but that your Excellency will be pleased
 ‘ yourself to provide Conservators for us out of all
 ‘ the People; and place over us, both in an higher
 ‘ and in other lower Courts of Civil Judicature,
 ‘ such to judge the People at all Seasons as shall
 ‘ be (ver. 21, 22.) *1st*, Able Men. *2^{dly}*, Men
 ‘ fearing God. *3^{dly}*, Men of Truth. *4^{thly}*, Men
 ‘ hating Covetousness.

And the Petitioners do still pray, &c.

*Signed by the free Consent, and unanimous Ap-
 pointment, of the Churches assembled together,
 April 25, 1653.*

*The HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE of the GENERAL
 COUNCIL of OFFICERS, met at Dalkeith the 5th
 of May, 1653, in behalf of themselves and the
 Forces in Scotland; shewing their hearty Concur-
 rence with his Excellency the Lord-General Crom-
 well and his Council of Officers at Whitehall, in
 dissolving the late Parliament.*

‘ **C**ONsidering the late Declaration from your
 ‘ Excellency and General Council, shewing
 ‘ the Grounds and Reasons for the Dissolution of
 ‘ the

Another from
 the Army in
 Scotland.

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‘ the late Parliament, who were chosen by the
 ‘ People for the common Good, and to procure
 ‘ the Well-being of those by whom they were in-
 ‘ trusted; to remove Oppressions and arbitrary
 ‘ Power, and all Obstacles to the Peace and Free-
 ‘ dom of these Nations, whose Interests they ought
 ‘ to have preferred before their own Particular:
 ‘ And that, after so long Expectation of some Fruit
 ‘ of what they have formerly remonstrated and de-
 ‘ clared unto the People, and so many Years Con-
 ‘ tinuance, failing short of that Good they might
 ‘ have done, they should still so strangely (to the
 ‘ Breach of those Gentlemen’s Engagements to your
 ‘ Lordship and your Council, mentioned in your
 ‘ late Declaration) endeavour to perpetuate them-
 ‘ selves, and thereby still enslave the Nation, we cau-
 ‘ not but bless the good Hand of God in stirring up
 ‘ your Hearts to bear Witness against those Evils
 ‘ and Corruptions amongst them, which too mani-
 ‘ festly abounded, and are clearly evident, to the
 ‘ saddening of the Hearts of good Men; and esteem
 ‘ it a wonderful Providence that directed you to so
 ‘ necessary and acceptable a Work.

‘ We trust that the Lord, who hath led you thro’
 ‘ many Difficulties, from Time to Time, even to
 ‘ this present Undertaking, will herein give you
 ‘ Wisdom and Courage once again to put forth
 ‘ yourselves in the great Work of the Lord and his
 ‘ People, in reviving those Rights and Privileges
 ‘ that have been too long stifled; whereby the
 ‘ Hearts of Thousands are refreshed, as it appears
 ‘ by the good Resentment that is every where had
 ‘ of it: And we rest assured that the Lord will lead
 ‘ you by the Right Hand of his Love, and make
 ‘ you walk in even Paths, teach you to understand
 ‘ Wisdom and Righteousness, and enable you so
 ‘ to manage those weighty Affairs, (he hath now
 ‘ so seasonably called you unto) as that the Hands
 ‘ of all good People may be strengthened by you;
 ‘ and an happy Reformation produced in a greater
 ‘ Measure and shorter Time, than was ever like to
 ‘ have been by the perpetual sitting of those Men
 ‘ whom

‘ whom the Lord hath been pleas’d now to lay aside. ^{Inter-regnum.}
 ‘ And herein we shall not only pray for you, and ^{1653.}
 ‘ rejoice to see these Things brought forth by your ^{May.}
 ‘ waiting upon the Lord, and studying Righteous-
 ‘ ness and Peace; but shall also, as far as the Lord
 ‘ shall enable us, with our Hearts and Hands, and
 ‘ all our Might, be ready to join with you, and to
 ‘ own you in the further Prosecution of this great
 ‘ Work, with which we hope neither our Lives
 ‘ nor any external Comfort shall come in Compe-
 ‘ tition.

‘ And we doubt not but all honest Hearts in these
 ‘ Nations, (as in the Army) which have not bowed
 ‘ their Knees to *Baal*, will, to a Man, second you
 ‘ in making good every Syllable of what hath been
 ‘ formerly declared. And at length we hope the
 ‘ Lord will settle these Nations in Peace; and, in
 ‘ the mean while, raise up your Spirits to tread up-
 ‘ on and scorn those vile Things which have pol-
 ‘ luted the Hands and Hearts of many that have
 ‘ gone before you; and to act to the Praise of his
 ‘ great Name, and the Comfort and Refreshment
 ‘ of all his People throughout the World.

‘ We shall not say much more at present, but
 ‘ desire that you may go forth in the Strength of
 ‘ our God; then shall the Work of the Lord pro-
 ‘ sper in your Hands, and those mighty Lions,
 ‘ which have lain in the Way of a pure and righ-
 ‘ teous Reformation, be removed. And we trust
 ‘ our Vows and Promises shall be no more forgot-
 ‘ ten, nor shall we be led back again to stoop to
 ‘ any *Egyptian* Yoke of Bondage, either in Spirit-
 ‘ ual or Temporal Kingly Powers.

*Signed in the Name, and by the Appointment, of
 the Commander in Chief, and the General
 Council of Officers, of the Forces in Scotland,*

WILLIAM CLERKE, *Secretary.*

Thus back’d, and thus fortified on all Sides,
Cromwell and his Council of Officers, out of whom
 he had constituted a Council of State, went on

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Gen. *Cromwell*
and his Council
order the Monthly
Assessment of
120,000*l.* to be
continued,

boldly with their Affairs.—On the ninth of *June* they issued out a Declaration for continuing the Monthly Assessment of 120,000*l.* to the 25th of *December* ensuing, towards the Maintenance of the Army and Navy. A few Days after, they gave an Audience in Form to the *Portuguese* and *Swedish* Ambassadors: They also granted Commissions for *John Corbet* and *John Haggitt*, Esq^{rs}. to be Judges in *North* and *South-Wales*, in the room of *Serjeant Elianhead* and *Serjeant Powel*, whom they had thought proper to remove from their Employments: And, another Victory being gained on the second and third of this Month by the *English* Fleet over the *Dutch*^d, the Council of State issued out a Declaration, To invite all the good People of these Nations to Thankfulness, and holy Rejoicing in the Lord, upon that Occasion; which was ordered to be published as follows ^e.

Whitehall, June 11, 1655.

And appoint a
Thanksgiving-
Day for another
Victory over the
Dutch Fleet.

‘ **I**T hath been a Custom much exercised, to en-
‘ join Days and Duties of Thanksgiving for
‘ Mercies received from the Lord; the Suitableness of which Practice with Gospel Times, and
‘ that Gospel Spirit which is only to bear Rule
‘ in the Churches of God (where the Worship is
‘ to be in Spirit and Truth, exercised by a free and
‘ willing People) is beside the Intent of this Paper
‘ to dispute.

‘ But considering how welcome to the Lord’s
‘ People every Occasion of Praise, ministered by
‘ the Lord himself, and minded by those that manage the Public Affairs, is to such as wait for his
‘ Salvation, we have thought fit to commend this
‘ high

^d In this Engagement wherein *Deane*, *Blake*, and *Menk* commanded, the former was killed the first Day.

On the 24th of *June* *Admiral Deane*’s Corpse was brought from *Greenwich* to *Woolwich*-*Bridge*, by Water, attended by thirty Barques in Mourning. The Procession was saluted, in their Passage, by all the Ships in the River, and the *Tower* Guns. In the Evening the Body was interr’d in the Abbey with great Pomp: The Lord-General and his Council, with all the Officers of the Navy and Army, then in Town, attending the Funeral.

^e From the original Edition, printed by *William Du-Card* and *Henry Hills*.

‘ high and heavenly Exercise and Privilege to all
 ‘ those who are faithful in these Lands, in the
 ‘ Words of the Prophet *Isaiah*, xii. ver. 4. *In that*
 ‘ *Day ye shall say, praise the Lord, call upon his*
 ‘ *Name, declare his Doings among the People, make*
 ‘ *Mention that his Name is exalted.* Ver. 5. *Sing*
 ‘ *unto the Lord, for he hath done excellent Things ;*
 ‘ *this is known in all the Earth.* Ver. 6. *Cry out,*
 ‘ *and shout, thou Inhabitant of Sion, for great is the*
 ‘ *holy One of Israel in the Midst of thee.* Truly this
 ‘ is such a Day ; if not that Day, it may be the
 ‘ Dawning of it. *Isa. x. A Day of Woe to unright-*
 ‘ *eous Judges, to Tyrants, to all the Proud of the*
 ‘ *Earth.* *Isa. xi. The Day of him who is the Rod,*
 ‘ *the Branch, and the Root of Jesse.* Ver. 5. *The*
 ‘ *Day of his Righteousness and Faithfulness.*
 ‘ Ver. 6. *Of his beginning to heal the Creation.*
 ‘ Ver. 12, 13. *The Day of gathering his People,*
 ‘ *and taking away their Envyings one of another,*
 ‘ *and making up their Breaches.*

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‘ This great Success against the *Dutch* (who a
 ‘ few Days before were lifted up with their Successes
 ‘ in getting out their Fleets for Trade, and bring-
 ‘ ing their Ships loaden with Merchandize home in
 ‘ Safety, and in their braving it upon our Coasts,
 ‘ shooting against our Towns and Castles, in the
 ‘ Absence of our Fleet) was a most signal, and every
 ‘ Way a most seasonable, Mercy.

‘ The Victory was a complete one, the Enemy
 ‘ flying with great Terror and Astonishment, ha-
 ‘ ving received great Loss of Men and Ships, and
 ‘ this in the View and Hearing of the Subjects of
 ‘ *France* and *Spain*, and their own Countrymen.
 ‘ It was without the Loss of one Ship on our Part.
 ‘ It was also seasonable, in abasing Pride, Haugh-
 ‘ tiness, and fleshly Confidence, and in discover-
 ‘ ing Hypocrisy. It was an Answer to the Faith
 ‘ and Prayer of God’s People, and to their great
 ‘ Hopes and Expectations from the Lord. It is a
 ‘ Mercy reminding us of, and sealing to us, all our
 ‘ former Mercies : A Mercy at such a Time as
 ‘ this, to say no more ! What Mercy it hath in the

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‘ Bowels of it, Time will declare: Who knows?
 ‘ One of which we desire from our Hearts, and
 ‘ hope may be, as of Establishment and Union to
 ‘ all those that fear the Lord amongst us, so of
 ‘ Conviction to that Nation (at least to all those
 ‘ that fear the Lord there) of their Opposition to
 ‘ the Work of the Lord in the Midst of us; and of
 ‘ their Duty to be serviceable to *Christ*, with their
 ‘ Brethren, in that which he is doing in the World,
 ‘ preferring their Usefulness therein before all their
 ‘ worldly Advantages.

‘ We shall conclude our Exhortation with that
 ‘ of *David*, Psal. cvii, 1. *O give Thanks unto the*
 ‘ *Lord, for he is good, for his Mercy endureth for*
 ‘ *ever.* Ver. 2. *Let the Redeemed of the Lord say*
 ‘ *so, whom he hath redeemed from the Hand of the*
 ‘ *Enemy.* Psal. cxviii, 1. *O give Thanks unto the*
 ‘ *Lord, for he is good, for his Mercy endureth for*
 ‘ *ever.* Ver. 2. *Let Israel now say, that his Mercy*
 ‘ *endureth for ever.* Ver. 3. *Let the House of*
 ‘ *Aaron now say, that his Mercy endureth for ever.*
 ‘ Ver. 4. *Let them now, that fear the Lord, say,*
 ‘ *that his Mercy endureth for ever.* Ver. ult. *O*
 ‘ *give Thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, for his*
 ‘ *Mercy endureth for ever.*

‘ The General and Council of State have ap-
 ‘ pointed the 23d of this Instant *June* to meet, if
 ‘ God permit, with the Council of Officers, to
 ‘ praise him.

By Order of the Council of State,

JO. THURLOE, *Secretary.*

The Lord Mayor of *London*, (Alderman *Fowke*)
 to testify his Allegiance to his new Sovereigns, is-
 sued a Precept to the Ministers of the several Pa-
 rishes of that City, recommending earnestly to their
 Care the Publishing the foregoing Declaration in
 their Congregations, and to stir up the People to
 be unanimous in their Praises to God for this sea-
 sonable Mercy. And on the 23d this Thanksgi-
 ving-Day (as the *Diaries* inform us) was accord-
 ingly

ingly observed with great Solemnity and Devotion, by the Lord-General and his Council, in the Chapel at *Whitehall*; by the Army and the Fleet; and by the People throughout the whole Nation.

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Though *Cromwell* and his Council of Officers had hitherto exercised the Civil Authority without Controul, yet not thinking themselves quite safe in their new-acquired Power, without, at least, the Appearance of a Legislative Sanction, they agreed upon a Project of calling a Sort of a Parliament, and such a Sort as never sat in *England* before. To this End a Meeting of the General Officers of the Army was appointed at *Whitehall*, where Major-General *Lambert*, General *Harrison*, and other great Men of the Army came. *Lambert* proposed that a few Persons, not exceeding the Number of ten or twelve, might be intrusted with the Supreme Power: *Harrison* was for a greater Number, inclining much to that of Seventy, being the Number the *Jewish Sanhedrim* consisted of. But, after some Debate, it was resolved, that a Number of Persons in *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, as near as might be proportionable to their Payments toward the Public Charge, should be nominated by the Council of Officers, and sent for to meet at *Westminster* on a certain Day; to whom all the Authority of the Nation should be delegated by an Instrument sign'd and seal'd by the General and the Officers, obliging themselves to be obedient to their Orders. The Summons to be sent out for collecting this Assembly, in the General's Name only, was in these Words:

FOrasmuch as upon the Dissolution of the late Parliament it became necessary that the Peace, Safety, and good Government of this Commonwealth should be provided for; and, in order therunto, divers Persons fearing God, and of approved Fidelity and Honesty, are by myself, with the Advice of my Council of Officers, nominated, to whom the great Charge

A Summons issued by Cromwell for that Purpose, and

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and Trust of so weighty Affairs is to be committed; and having good Assurance of your Love to, and Courage for, God and the Interest of his Cause, and of the good People of this Commonwealth:

I Oliver Cromwell, Captain-General and Commander in Chief of all the Armies and Forces raised, and to be raised, within this Commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you (being one of the said Persons nominated) personally to be and appear at the Council-Chamber, commonly known or called by the Name of the Council-Chamber at Whitehall, within the City of Westminster, upon the fourth Day of July next ensuing the Date hereof; then and there to take upon you the said Trust unto which you are hereby called and appointed, to serve as a Member for the County of . And hereof you are not to fail.

Given under my Hand and Seal the sixth Day of June, 1653.

O. CROMWELL.

In pursuance of the foregoing Summons, this most extraordinary Convention assembled themselves together; the Account of which we shall give, as then published by Authority, in the following Terms^e:

The Persons nominated meet at Whitehall in pursuance thereof.

‘ July 4. This being the Day appointed by the Letters of Summons from his Excellency the Lord-General, for the Meeting of the Persons called to the Supreme Authority, there came about 120 of them to the Council-Chamber in Whitehall. After each Person had given in a Ticket of his Name, they all enter’d the Room and sat down in Chairs, appointed for them, round about the Table: Then his Excellency the Lord-General standing by the Window, opposite to the Middle of the Table, and as many of the Officers of the Army as the Room could well contain, some on his Right Hand and others on his Left, and about him, made the following Speech to the Assembly: ‘

Gentlemen,

^e *Proceedings in State Affairs, No. 107.*

^f *From the original Edition, printed by W. De-Card and H. Hill.*

Gentlemen,

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I Suppose the Summons that hath been instrumental to bring you hither, gives you well to understand the Cause of your being here. Howbeit, having something to impart, which is an Instrument drawn up by the Consent and Advice of the principal Officers of the Army, which is a little, as we conceive, more significant than that other Summons, we have that here to tender you: And we have somewhat further likewise to say to you for our own Exoneration, and we hope it may be somewhat further to your Satisfaction; and therefore seeing you sit here somewhat uneasy, by reason of the Scantness of the Room and the Heat of the Weather, I shall contract myself with respect to that.

I have not thought it amiss a little to remind you of that Series of Providence, wherein the Lord hitherto hath dispensed wonderful Things to these Nations, from the Beginning of our Troubles to this very Day. If I should look much backward, we might remember the State of Affairs as they were before the short, and that which was the last, Parliament; in what a Posture the Things of this Nation stood, doth so well, I presume, occur to all your Memories and Knowledge, that I shall not need to look so far backward, nor yet to the Beginning of those hostile Actions that past between the King that was and the then Parliament. And, indeed, should I begin this Labour, the Things that would fall necessarily before you, would rather be fit for a History, than for a Discourse at this present.

But thus far we may look back: You very well know, after divers Turnings of Affairs, it pleased God, much about the Midst of this War, to winnow, as I may say, the Forces of this Nation, and to put them into the Hands of Men of other Principles than those that did engage at the first. By what strange Providences that also was brought about, would ask more Time than is allotted

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‘ lotted me to remember you of. Indeed there are
 ‘ Stories that do recite those Transactions, and give
 ‘ Narratives of Matter of Fact; but those Things
 ‘ wherein the Life and Power of them lay, those
 ‘ strange Windings and Turnings of Providence,
 ‘ those very great Appearances of God in crossing
 ‘ and thwarting the Designs of Men, that he might
 ‘ raise up a poor and contemptible Company of
 ‘ Men, neither versed in Military Affairs, nor ha-
 ‘ ving much natural Propensity to them, even thro’
 ‘ the owning of a Principle of Godliness, of Reli-
 ‘ gion; which so soon as it came to be owned, and
 ‘ the State of Affairs put upon that Foot of Account,
 ‘ how God blessed them and all Undertakings, by
 ‘ the raising of that most improbable, despicable,
 ‘ contemptible Means, for that we must for ever
 ‘ own, you very well know.

‘ What the several Successes have been. is not
 ‘ fit to mention at this Time neither, though I
 ‘ must confess I thought to have enlarged myself
 ‘ upon this Subject; forasmuch as the considering
 ‘ the Works of God, and the Operation of his
 ‘ Hands, is a principal Part of our Duty, and a
 ‘ great Encouragement to the strengthening of our
 ‘ Hands, and of our Faith for that which is behind.
 ‘ And then having given us those marvellous Dis-
 ‘ pensations amongst other Ends, for that was a
 ‘ most principal End, as to us, in this Revolution
 ‘ of Affairs, and Issues of those Successes God was
 ‘ pleased to give this Nation, and the Authority
 ‘ that then stood, were very great Things brought
 ‘ about; besides those Dints that were upon these
 ‘ Nations and Places where they were carried on,
 ‘ even in the Civil Affairs, to the bringing Offend-
 ‘ ers to Justice, even the Greatest; to the bring-
 ‘ ing the State of this Government to the Name,
 ‘ at least, of a Commonwealth; to the search-
 ‘ ing and sifting of all Places and Persons; the
 ‘ King removed and brought to Justice, and many
 ‘ Great Ones with him; the House of Peers
 ‘ laid aside; the House of Commons, the Repre-
 ‘ sentative of the People of *England*, itself win-
 ‘ nowed

‘nowed, sifted, and brought to a Handful, as
‘you may very well remember.

‘And, truly, God would not rest there; for,
‘by the Way, although it be fit for us to intitle
‘our Failings and Miscarriages to ourselves, yet
‘the Gloriousness of the Work may well be attri-
‘buted to God himself, and may be called *his*
‘*strange Work*.

‘You may remember well that, at the Change
‘of the Government, there was not an End of our
‘Troubles; although that Year such Things were
‘transacted, as, indeed, made it to be the most
‘memorable Year (I mean 1648) that ever this
‘Nation saw; so many Insurrections, Invasions,
‘secret Designs, open and public Attempts, quash’d
‘in so short a Time; and this by the very signal
‘Appearances of God himself, which I hope we
‘shall never forget.

‘You know also, as I said before, that as the
‘Effect of that memorable Year 1648, was to lay
‘the Foundation of bringing Delinquents to Pu-
‘nishment, so it was of the Change of the Go-
‘vernment; although it be true, if we had Time
‘to speak, the Carriages of some in Trust, in most
‘eminent Trust, was such as would have frustrated
‘to us the Hopes of all our Undertakings, had not
‘God miraculously prevented: I mean by that
‘Closure that would have been endeavoured with
‘the King, whereby we should have put into his
‘Hands all that Cause and Interest we had oppo-
‘sed, and had nothing to have secured us but a
‘little Piece of Paper.

‘But Things going on, how it pleased the Lord
‘to keep this Nation in Exercise both at Sea and
‘Land, and what God wrought in *Ireland* and
‘*Scotland*, you likewise know, untill the Lord had
‘finished all that Trouble upon the Matter, by
‘the marvelous Salvation wrought at *Worcester*.
‘I confess to you I am very much troubled in my
‘Spirit, that the Necessity of Affairs doth require
‘that I should be so short in these Things, because
‘I told you before, this is the leanest Part of the
‘Trans-

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‘ Transaction, to wit, An historical Narration;
 ‘ there being in every Dispensation, (whether the
 ‘ King’s going from the Parliament, the pulling
 ‘ down the Bishops, purging the House at that
 ‘ Time by their going away to assist the King, or
 ‘ Change of Government) whatever it was, not
 ‘ any of these Things but hath a remarkable Point
 ‘ of Providence set upon it, that he that runs may
 ‘ read. Therefore I am heartily sorry that, in
 ‘ point of Time, I cannot be particular in those
 ‘ Things which I did principally design this Day,
 ‘ thereby to provoke and stir up your Hearts and
 ‘ mine to Gratitude and Confidence.

‘ I shall now begin a little to remember you the
 ‘ Passages that have been transacted since *Worcester*
 ‘ Fight; whence coming with my Fellow-Officers
 ‘ and Soldiers, we expected, and had some reason-
 ‘ able Confidence that our Expectations should not
 ‘ be frustrated; that the Authority that then was,
 ‘ having such a History to look back unto, such a
 ‘ God that appeared for them so eminently, so vi-
 ‘ sibly, that even our Enemies many Times con-
 ‘ fess’d that God himself was engag’d against them,
 ‘ or they should never have been brought so low,
 ‘ nor disappointed in every Undertaking: For that
 ‘ may be said, (by the Way) had we miscarried
 ‘ but once where had we been? I say we did think,
 ‘ and had some reasonable Confidence, that coming
 ‘ up then, the Mercies that God had shewed, the
 ‘ Expectations that were in the Hearts of all good
 ‘ Men, would have prompted those that were in
 ‘ Authority to have done those good Things which
 ‘ might, by honest Men, have been judged a Re-
 ‘ turn fit for such a God, and worthy of such Mer-
 ‘ cies; and indeed a Discharge of Duty to those
 ‘ for whom all these Mercies have been shewed,
 ‘ that is, the Interest of the three Nations, the true
 ‘ Interest of the three Nations.

‘ And if I should now labour to be particular in
 ‘ enumerating some Businesses that have been
 ‘ transacted from that Time, till the Dissolution of
 ‘ the late Parliament, indeed I should be upon a

‘ Theme

‘ Theme that would be very troublesome to my-
 ‘ self: For I must say for myself and Fellow-Offi-
 ‘ cers, we have rather desired and studied healing
 ‘ than to rake into Sores, and look backward to
 ‘ render Things in those Colours that would not
 ‘ be very well pleasing to any good Eye to look
 ‘ upon. Only this we must say, for our own Exo-
 ‘ nation, and as thereby laying some Foundation
 ‘ for the making evident the Necessity and Duty
 ‘ that was incumbent upon us to make this last
 ‘ great Change; I think it will not be amiss to of-
 ‘ fer a Word or two in that, not taking Pleasure to
 ‘ rake into the Business, were there not some Kind
 ‘ of Necessity so to do. Indeed we may say, with-
 ‘ out commending ourselves, I mean myself and
 ‘ those Gentlemen that have been engaged in the
 ‘ Military Affairs, that upon our Return we came
 ‘ fully bent, in our Hearts and Thoughts, to desire
 ‘ and use all fair and lawful Means we could to
 ‘ have had the Nation to reap the Fruit of all that
 ‘ Blood and Treasure that had been expended in
 ‘ this Cause; and we have had many Desires and
 ‘ Thirstings in our Spirits, to find out Ways and
 ‘ Means wherein we might any ways be instru-
 ‘ mental to help it forward; and we were very
 ‘ tender, for a long Time, so much as to petition;
 ‘ till *August* last, or thereabouts, we never offered
 ‘ to petition. But some of our then Members and
 ‘ others having good Acquaintance and Relation
 ‘ to divers Members of the Parliament, we did,
 ‘ from Time to Time, solicit that which we
 ‘ thought (if there had been Nobody to prompt
 ‘ them, Nobody to call upon them) would have
 ‘ been listened to, out of Ingenuity and Integrity
 ‘ in them that had Opportunity to have answered
 ‘ our Expectations: And, truly, when we saw no-
 ‘ thing would be done, we did, as we thought,
 ‘ according to our Duty, remind them by a Peti-
 ‘ tion; which Petition, I suppose, the most of you
 ‘ have seen, which we delivered either in *July* or
 ‘ *August* last. What Effect that had is likewise
 ‘ very well known; the Truth is, we had no Re-
 ‘ turn

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‘ turn at all; all the Satisfaction for us was but a
 ‘ few Words given us; the Businesſes petitioned for
 ‘ moſt of them, we were told, were under Conſi-
 ‘ deration, and thoſe that were not had very little
 ‘ or no Conſideration at all.

‘ Finding the People diſſatisfied in every Corner
 ‘ of the Nation, and bringing home to our Doors
 ‘ the Non-performance of thoſe Things that had
 ‘ been promiſed, and were, of Due, to be per-
 ‘ formed, we did think ourſelves concerned; we
 ‘ endeavoured, as became honeſt Men, to keep up
 ‘ the Reputation of honeſt Men in the World, and
 ‘ therefore we had divers Times endeavoured to
 ‘ obtain a Meeting with divers Members of Par-
 ‘ liament, and truly we did not begin this till Oc-
 ‘ tober laſt; and in thoſe Meetings did, in all Faith-
 ‘ fulneſs and Sincerity, beſeech them that they
 ‘ would be mindful of their Duty to God and Man,
 ‘ and of the Diſcharge of their Truſt to God and
 ‘ Man. I believe that many of theſe Gentlemen
 ‘ who are here, can tell that we had at the leaſt ten
 ‘ or twelve Meetings, moſt humbly begging and
 ‘ beſeeching them that, of their own Accords, they
 ‘ would do thoſe good Things that had been pro-
 ‘ miſed; that ſo it might appear they did not
 ‘ do them by any Suggestion from the Army, but
 ‘ of their own Ingenuity; ſo tender were we to pre-
 ‘ ſerve them in the Reputation and Opinion of the
 ‘ People to the uttermoſt. And having had many
 ‘ of thoſe Meetings, we declared plainly that the
 ‘ Iſſue would be the Judgment and Diſpleaſure of
 ‘ God againſt them, the Diſſatisfaction of the
 ‘ People, and the putting Things into a Confuſion;
 ‘ yet how little we did prevail we well know, and
 ‘ we believe is not unknown to you.

‘ At the laſt, when we ſaw indeed that Things
 ‘ would not be laid to Heart, we had a ſerious
 ‘ Conſideration amongſt ourſelves what other
 ‘ Way to have Recourſe unto; and when, indeed,
 ‘ we came to thoſe cloſe Conſiderations, they be-
 ‘ gan to take the Act of the new Representative to
 ‘ Heart,

Heart, and seem'd exceeding willing to put it on; the which had it been done, or would it have been done, with that Integrity, with that Caution, that would have saved this Cause, and the Interest we have been so long engaged in, there could nothing have happened, to our Judgment, more welcome than that would have been: But finding plainly that the Intendment of it was not to give the People that Right of Choice, but the seeming to give the People that Choice was intended and designed only to recruit the House, the better to perpetuate themselves: And truly having, divers of us, been spoken to to that End, that we should give Way to it, a Thing to which we had a perpetual Aversion, which we did abominate the Thoughts of, we always declared our Judgments against it, and our Dissatisfaction; but yet they would not hear of a new Representative till it had laid three Years before them, without proceeding with one Line considerably in it; nay, they could not endure to hear of it: Then when we came to our close Considerations, then, instead of protesting, they did make as much preposterous Haste on the other Hand, and ran into that Extremity; and finding that this Spirit was not according to God, and that the whole Weight of this Cause, which must needs have been very dear unto us, who have so often adventured our Lives for it, and we believe is so to you; when we saw plainly that there was not so much Consideration how to assert it, or to provide Security for it, but indeed to cross those that they reckoned the most troublesome People they had to deal with, which was the Army, who, by this Time, was sufficiently their Displeasure: I say, when we that had the Power in our Hands, saw that to let the Business go to such an Issue as this, was to throw back the Cause into the Hands of them we first fought with, we came to this first Conclusion amongst ourselves, That if we had been fought out of it, Necessity would have taught us Patience;

but

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' but to have it taken from us so unworthily,
 ' we should be rendered the worst People in the
 ' World, and we should become Traitors both to
 ' God and Man. And when God had laid this to
 ' our Hearts, and that we found the Interest of his
 ' People was grown cheap, and not laid to Heart,
 ' and if we came to Competition of Things, the
 ' Cause even amongst themselves would (even al-
 ' most in every Thing) go to the Ground: This
 ' did add more Consideration to us, that there was
 ' a Duty incumbent on us. And, truly, I speak it
 ' in the Presence of some that are here, that were at
 ' the close Consultations (I may say) as before the
 ' Lord, the thinking of an Act of Violence was
 ' to us worse than any Engagement that ever we
 ' were in yet; and worse to us than the utmost
 ' Hazard of our Lives that could be; so unwilling
 ' were we, so tender were we, so desirous were we,
 ' if it were possible, that these Men might have quit
 ' their Places with Honour: And, truly, this I am
 ' the longer upon, because it hath been, in our
 ' Hearts and Consciences, our Justification; and
 ' hath never yet been imparted thoroughly to the
 ' Nation; and we had rather begin with you to
 ' do it, than to have done it before; and do think
 ' indeed that these Transactions be more proper for
 ' a verbal Communication than to have been put in
 ' Writing. I doubt whosoever had put it into Wri-
 ' ting, would have been tempted to have dipt his
 ' Pen in Anger and Wrath; but Affairs being at
 ' this Posture, that we saw plainly and evidently,
 ' in some critical Things, that the Cause of the
 ' People of God was a despised Thing; truly then
 ' we did believe that the Hands of other Men must
 ' be the Hands that must be trusted with it; and
 ' then we thought it high Time for us to look about
 ' us, and to be sensible of our Duty. If I should
 ' take up your Time to tell you what Instances we
 ' have to satisfy our Judgments and Consciences
 ' that these Things were not vain Imaginations,
 ' that were petitioned for, but that fell within the

' Compass

‘ Compass of our certain Knowledge and Sense;
 ‘ should I repeat these Things to you, I should do
 ‘ that which I would avoid, to rake into these
 ‘ Things too much. Only this: If Anybody were
 ‘ in Competition for any Place of real and signal
 ‘ Trust, how hard and difficult a Thing it were to
 ‘ get any Thing to be carried without making Par-
 ‘ ties, without Things indeed unworthy of a Par-
 ‘ liament; and when Things must be carried so in
 ‘ a Supreme Authority, indeed I think it is not as
 ‘ it ought to be. But when it came to other Tri-
 ‘ als, in that Case of *Wales*, which I must confess,
 ‘ for my own Part, I set myself upon; if I should
 ‘ inform what Discountenance that Business of the
 ‘ poor People of God there had, who had Men
 ‘ watching over them like so many Wolves, ready
 ‘ to catch the Lamb as soon as it was brought out
 ‘ into the World: How signally they threw that
 ‘ Business under foot, to the discountenancing of the
 ‘ honest People there, and the countenancing of the
 ‘ malignant Party of this Commonwealth, I need
 ‘ but say it was so; many have felt, by sad Expe-
 ‘ rience, it was so, who will better impart that
 ‘ Business to you, which (for myself and Fellow-
 ‘ Officers) I think was as perfect a Trial of
 ‘ their Spirits as any Thing; it being known to
 ‘ many of us, that God kindles a Seed there, in-
 ‘ deed, hardly to be parallel’d since the primitive
 ‘ Times.

‘ I would this had been all the Instances; but
 ‘ finding which Way their Spirits went, and find-
 ‘ ing that Good was never intended to the People
 ‘ of God; I mean, when I say so, that large Com-
 ‘ prehension of them under the several Forms of
 ‘ Godliness in this Nation; when I saw that Ten-
 ‘ derness was forgotten to them all, (though it was
 ‘ very true that by their Hands and Means, thro’
 ‘ the Blessing of God, they sat where they did) and
 ‘ Affairs (not to speak it boastingly) had been in-
 ‘ strumentally brought to that Issue they were
 ‘ brought to by the Hands of those poor Creatures,
 ‘ we thought this an evil Requital. I will not say

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' they were at the uttermost Pitch of Reformation,
 ' altho' I could say that in one Thing, the Regu-
 ' lation of the Law, so much groaned under in that
 ' Posture it now is in, there were many Words spo-
 ' ken for it; we know, many Months together was
 ' not Time enough to pass over one Word called
 ' *Incumbrances*. I say, finding that this was the
 ' Spirit and Complexion of them, that tho' these
 ' were Faults for which no Man should have dared
 ' to lift his Hand, simply for these Faults and Fail-
 ' ings, yet when we saw their Intendment was to
 ' perpetuate themselves and Men of this Spirit, for
 ' some had it from their own Mouths, from their
 ' own Designs, who could not endure to hear of
 ' being dissolved; this was an high Breach of
 ' Trust, if they had been a Parliament never vio-
 ' lated, sitting as free and as clear as ever any sat
 ' in *England*; yet if they would go about to perpe-
 ' tuate themselves, we did think this to be so high
 ' a Breach of Trust, as greater could not be. And
 ' we did not go by Guess in this; and, to be out
 ' of Doubt in it, we (having that Conference
 ' among ourselves, whereof we gave Account)
 ' did desire once more, the Night before the Dis-
 ' solution, (and it had been in our Desires some
 ' two or three Days before) that we might speak
 ' with some of the principal Persons of the House,
 ' that we might, with Ingenuity, open our Hearts
 ' to them, to the end we might be either convinced
 ' of the Ground of their Principles and Intentions
 ' to the Good of the Nation; or, if we could not
 ' be convinced, they would hear our Offer, or Ex-
 ' pedient, to prevent this Mischief; and indeed we
 ' could not prevail for two or three Days, till the
 ' Night before the Dissolution. There is a Touch
 ' of this in that our Declaration; we had often de-
 ' sired it, and at that Time attained it; there were
 ' above twenty of them who were Members, none
 ' of the least Consideration for Interest and Ability,
 ' with whom we desired to discourse those Things,
 ' and had Discourse with them; and it pleased the
 ' Gentlemen Officers of the Army to desire me to
 ' offer

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offer their Sense to them, and indeed it was shortly carried thus: We told them the Reason of our Desire to wait upon them was, to know what Security we had in the Way of their proceeding so hastily with their Act for a new Representative, wherein they had made a few Qualifications; such as they were; but how the whole Business should be executed we had no Account of, which we desired them to give us; for we thought we had an Interest in our Lives, Estates, and Families, as well as the worst People of the Nation, and that we might be bold to ask Satisfaction in that; and if they did proceed in honest Ways, as might be safe to the Nation, we might acquiesce therein. When we pressed them to give Satisfaction in this, the Answer was, That nothing could be good for the Nation but the Continuance of this Parliament. We wondered that we should have such a Return; we said little to that.

But seeing they would not give us that which might satisfy us that their Way was honest and safe, they would give us Leave to make our Objections: We did tell them, That we thought that Way they were going in would be impracticable: We could not tell them how it would be brought to pass, to send out an Act of Parliament into the Country, to have Qualifications in an Act to be the Rules of Electors and Elected; and not to know who should execute this; desiring to know whether the next Parliament were not like to consist of all Presbyterians? Whether those Qualifications would hinder them, or Neuters? And though it be our Desire to value and esteem Persons of that Judgment, only they having, as we know, deserted this Cause and Interest upon the King's Account, and on that Closure between them and the Neighbour Nation, we do think we must confess we had as good have delivered up our Cause into the Hands of any, as into the Hands of interested and bias'd Men; for it is one Thing to live friendly and brotherly;

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' to bear with, and love, a Person of another Judg-
 ' ment in Religion; another Thing to have any
 ' so far set into the Saddle upon that Account, as
 ' that it should be in them to have all the rest of
 ' their Brethren at Mercy. Having had this Dis-
 ' course, making these Objections of bringing in
 ' Neuters, or such as should impose upon their Bre-
 ' thren, or such as had given Testimony to the
 ' King's Party; and objecting to the Danger of it,
 ' in drawing the Concourse of all People to arraign
 ' every individual Person, which indeed did fall ob-
 ' viously in, (and the Issue would certainly have been
 ' the putting it into the Hands of Men that had little
 ' Affection to this Cause) it was confessed by some
 ' that these Objections did lye: But Answer was
 ' made by a very eminent Person, at the same
 ' Time as before, That nothing would save the
 ' Nation but the Continuance of this Parliament.
 ' This being so, we humbly proposed an Expedient
 ' of ours, which was indeed to desire that the Go-
 ' vernment, being in that Condition it was, and
 ' Things being under so much ill Sense abroad,
 ' and so likely to come to Confusion in every Re-
 ' spect, if it went on; we then desired they would
 ' devolve the Trust over to Persons of Honour and
 ' Integrity, that were well known, Men well af-
 ' fected to Religion and the Interest of the Nation;
 ' which we told them, and was confessed, had
 ' been no new Thing, when these Nations had been
 ' under the like Hurly-burly and Distractions; and
 ' it was confessed by them, it had been no new
 ' Thing. We had been at Labour to get Precedents
 ' to convince them of it; and we told them those
 ' Things we offered, out of that deep Sense we had
 ' of the Good of the Nation, and the Cause of
 ' *Christ*; but were only answered That nothing
 ' would save the Nation but the Continuance of
 ' that Parliament. Altho' they would not say they
 ' would perpetuate it, at that Time least of all,
 ' yet we found their Endeavours did directly tend to
 ' it; for they gave us this Answer, That the Things
 ' we had offered were of a tender and very weighty
 ' Con-

‘ Consideration. They did make Objections how
 ‘ we should raise Money, and some other Objec-
 ‘ tions: We told them, that that we offered as an
 ‘ Expedient, because we thought it better than that
 ‘ for which no Reason was, or Thought would be
 ‘ given. We desired them to lay the Thing se-
 ‘ riously to Heart: They told us they would take
 ‘ Consideration of these Things till the Morning;
 ‘ that they would sleep upon them. And I think
 ‘ that there was scarce any Day that there sat above
 ‘ 50, 52, or 53. At the Parting, two or three
 ‘ of the Chief Ones, the very chiefest of them, did
 ‘ tell us, That they would endeavour the suspend-
 ‘ ing the Proceedings of the Representative the
 ‘ next Day, ’till they had a further Conference,
 ‘ and we did acquiesce; and had Hope, if our Ex-
 ‘ pedient could take up a loving Debate, that the
 ‘ next Day we should have some such Issue thereof
 ‘ as would have given a Satisfaction to all.

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‘ They went away late at Night; and the next
 ‘ Morning, we considering how to order that which
 ‘ we had to offer to them when they were to meet
 ‘ in the Evening, Word was brought they were
 ‘ proceeding with a Representative, with all the
 ‘ Eagerness they could. We did not believe Persons
 ‘ of such Quality could do it. A second and a third
 ‘ Messenger told us they had almost finished it, and
 ‘ had brought it to that Issue, with that Haste as had
 ‘ never been known before; leaving out the Things
 ‘ that did necessarily relate to due Qualifications, as
 ‘ we have heard since; and resolved to make it a
 ‘ Paper Bill, not to engross it, that they might make
 ‘ the quicker Dispatch of it: Thus to have thrown
 ‘ all the Liberties of the Nation into the Hands that
 ‘ never bled for it: Upon this Account we thought
 ‘ it our Duty not to suffer it, and upon this the
 ‘ House was dissolved.

‘ This we tell you, that you may so know that
 ‘ what hath been done in the Dissolution of this
 ‘ Parliament, was as necessary to be done as the
 ‘ Preservation of this Cause; and that Necessity
 ‘ that led us to do that, hath brought us to this

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' Issue of exercising an extraordinary Way and
 ' Course to draw yourselves together upon this
 ' Account, as you are Men who know the Lord,
 ' and have made Observations of his marvelous
 ' Dispensations, and may be trusted with this
 ' Cause. It remains (for I shall not acquaint you
 ' further with what relates to your taking upon
 ' you this great Business, that being contained in
 ' this Paper in my Hand, which I do offer pre-
 ' sently to you to read) having done that which we
 ' thought to have done upon this Ground of Ne-
 ' cessity, which we know was not feigned Necessi-
 ' ty, but real and true, to the end the Govern-
 ' ment might not be at a Loss; and to the end we
 ' might manifest to the World the Singleness of
 ' our Hearts and Integrity, who did those Things,
 ' not to grasp after the Power ourselves to keep it
 ' in a Military Hand, no not for a Day; but, as
 ' far as God enables us with Strength and Ability,
 ' to put it into the Hands that might be called from
 ' several Parts of the Nation: This Necessity, I say,
 ' and we hope may say, for ourselves, this Integrity,
 ' of labouring to divest the Sword of all Power and
 ' Authority in the Civil Administration of it, hath
 ' been that that hath moved us to conclude of this
 ' Course; and, having done that, we think we can-
 ' not, with the Discharge of our Consciences, but
 ' offer somewhat unto you, as I said before, for our
 ' own Exoneration; it having been the Practice of
 ' others who have voluntarily, and out of Sense of
 ' Duty, divested themselves, and devolved the Go-
 ' vernment into the Hands of others; it having
 ' been the Practice where such Things have been
 ' done, and very consonant to Reason, together
 ' with the Authority to lay a Charge in such a Way
 ' as we hope we do, and to press to the Duty,
 ' which we have a Word or two to offer to you.

' Truly God hath called you to this Work, by
 ' (I think) as wonderful Providences as ever pass'd
 ' upon the Sons of Men in so short a Time. And
 ' truly, I think, taking the Argument of Necessity,
 ' (for the Government must not fall) taking the

' Ap-

† Appearances of the Will of God in this Thing, Inter-regnum.
 ‘ I am sure you would have been loath it should 1653.
 ‘ have been resigned into the Hands of wicked Men {
 ‘ and Enemies. I am sure God would not have it July.
 ‘ so : It comes therefore to you by way of Necessity ;
 ‘ it comes to you by the Way of the wise
 ‘ Providence of God, tho’ through weak Hands :
 ‘ And therefore, I think, it coming through our
 ‘ Hands, tho’ such as we are, it may not be taken
 ‘ ill, if we offer to you something as to the Dis-
 ‘ charge of that Trust which is incumbent upon
 ‘ you. And although I seem to speak that which
 ‘ may have the Face of a Charge, it is a very
 ‘ humble one ; and he that means to be a Servant
 ‘ to you, who are called to the Exercise of the
 ‘ Supreme Authority, to discharge that which he
 ‘ conceives is his Duty, in his own and his Fellows
 ‘ Names ; to you who, I hope, will take it in good
 ‘ Part. And, truly, I shall not hold you long in
 ‘ that, because I hope it is written in your Hearts
 ‘ to approve yourselves to God ; only this Scrip-
 ‘ ture I shall remember to you, which hath been
 ‘ much upon my Spirit, *Hosea, xi. 12. Let Judah*
 ‘ *ruleth with God, and is faithful among the Saints ;*
 ‘ it is said before, *Ephraim did compass God about*
 ‘ *with Lyes, and Israel with Deceit : How God*
 ‘ hath been compassed about with Fastings and
 ‘ Thanksgivings, and other Exercises and Trans-
 ‘ actions, I think we have all to lament. Why,
 ‘ truly you are called by God to rule with him and
 ‘ for him ; and you are called to be faithful with
 ‘ the Saints, who have been somewhat instrumen-
 ‘ tal to your Call : *He that ruleth over Men, the*
 ‘ *Scripture saith, must be just, ruling in the Fear of*
 ‘ *God.*

‘ And, truly, it is better that we should pray
 ‘ for you than counsel you to exercise the Judg-
 ‘ ment of Mercy and Truth ; I say, it is better
 ‘ that we should pray for you than to advise you.
 ‘ Ask Wisdom from Heaven (which I am con-
 ‘ fident many Thousands of Saints do this Day,
 ‘ and

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‘ and have done, and will do, through the Permis-
 ‘ sion of God, and his Assistance) to advise you :
 ‘ Only, truly, I thought of a Scripture likewise,
 ‘ that seems to be but a Scripture of common Ap-
 ‘ plication to every Man as a Christian, wherein he
 ‘ is counselled to ask Wisdom ; and he is told what
 ‘ is that Wisdom that is from above ; *it is pure,*
 ‘ *peaceable, gentle, easy to be intreated, full of good*
 ‘ *Fruits, without Partiality, without Hypocrisy ;*
 ‘ and my Thoughts ran thus upon this, that the
 ‘ executing of the Judgment of Truth. (for that is
 ‘ the Judgment that you must have Wisdom from
 ‘ above for, and that is pure, that will teach you to
 ‘ execute the Judgment of Truth) and then, if
 ‘ God give you Hearts to be easy to be intreated,
 ‘ to be peaceable Spirits, to be full of good Fruits,
 ‘ bearing good Fruits to the Nation, to Men as
 ‘ Men, to the People of God, to all in their several
 ‘ Stations ; this Wisdom will teach you to execute
 ‘ the Judgment of Mercy and Truth. And I have
 ‘ little more to say to this ; I shall rather bend my
 ‘ Prayers for you in that Behalf, as I said before,
 ‘ and I know many others do also. Truly, the
 ‘ Judgment of Truth will teach you to be as just to-
 ‘ wards an Unbeliever as towards a Believer, and it
 ‘ is our Duty to do so. I confess I have often said it
 ‘ foolishly, if I would miscarry I would rather do
 ‘ it to a Believer than to an Unbeliever ; perhaps
 ‘ it is a Paradox ; but let us take heed of doing it
 ‘ to either, exercising Injustice to either : if God
 ‘ fill our Hearts with such a Spirit as *Moses* and
 ‘ *Paul* had, which was not only a Spirit for the
 ‘ Believers among the People of God, but for the
 ‘ whole People, he would have died for them ; and
 ‘ so saith *Paul* to his Countrymen, according to
 ‘ the Flesh, he could have died for them : Truly
 ‘ this will help us to execute the Judgment of
 ‘ Truth and Mercy also.

‘ A second Thing is, to desire you would be
 ‘ faithful with the Saints ; and I hope, whatever
 ‘ others may think, it ought to be to us all a Matter

of rejoicing, that as one Person, our Saviour, was
 touched with our Infirmities, that he might be
 pitiful, I think this Assembly, thus called, is very
 much troubled with the common Infirmary of
 the Saints, and I hope that will teach you to pity
 others; that so Saints of one Sort may not be our
 Interest; but that we may have Respect unto all,
 though of different Judgments: And if I did seem
 to speak any Thing that might seem to reflect
 upon those of the Presbyterian Judgment, I think
 if you have not an Interest of Love for them, you
 will hardly answer this Faithfulness to his Saints.
 I confess, in my Pilgrimage, and some Exercises
 I have had abroad, I did read that Scripture
 often in *Isaiah*, xli. 19. when God gave me
 and some of my Fellows what he would do there
 and elsewhere, which he perform'd for us: And
 what would he do? to what End? *That he might*
plant in the Wilderness the Cedar and the Shittah
Tree, and the Myrtle Tree and the Palm Tree to-
gether. To what End? *That they might know,*
and consider, and understand together that the Hand
of the Lord hath done this, and that the Lord hath
created it; that he hath wrought all Salvation and
Deliverance which he hath wrought for the Good
of the whole Flock: Therefore I beseech you (but
 I think I need not) have a Care of the whole
 Flock; love all the Sheep, love the Lambs; love
 all, and tender all, and cherish all, and counte-
 nance all in all Things that are good; and if the
 poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian,
 should desire to live peaceably and quietly un-
 der you, soberly and humbly desire to lead a
 Life in Godliness and Honesty, let him be pro-
 tected.

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I think I need as little advise you concerning
 the Propagation of the Gospel, and encouraging
 such Ministers, and such a Ministry: be faithful
 in the Land, upon whom the true Character is;
 Men that have truly received the Spirit for such
 a Use, which Christians will be well able to dis-
 cover

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‘ cover, and do ; Men that have received Gifts
 ‘ for the Work before-mentioned from him that
 ‘ *ascended on high, and led Captivity captive* : And
 ‘ truly the Apostle, *Romans xii.* when he had sum-
 ‘ med up all the Mercies of God and the Goodness
 ‘ of God ; and had discoursed of the Foundations of
 ‘ the Gospel, and of the several Things that are the
 ‘ Subject of his Discourse in the first eleven Chap-
 ‘ ters ; after he had besought them to *offer up their*
 ‘ *Souls and Bodies a living Sacrifice to God*, he be-
 ‘ seecheth not to *esteem more highly of themselves than*
 ‘ *they ought*, but that they would be humble and
 ‘ sober minded, and not stretch themselves beyond
 ‘ their Line ; but would have a Regard to those
 ‘ that had received Gifts to those Uses there men-
 ‘ tioned. I speak not (it is far from my Heart) for a
 ‘ Ministry deriving itself thro’ the Papacy, and pre-
 ‘ tending to that which is so much insisted upon to
 ‘ be Succession : The true Succession is thro’ the
 ‘ Spirit, given in that Measure that the Spirit is gi-
 ‘ ven ; and that is a right Succession : But I need
 ‘ not discourse of these Things to you ; I am persua-
 ‘ ded you are taught of God in a greater Measure
 ‘ than myself in these Things. Indeed I have but
 ‘ one Word more to say, and that is, (though in
 ‘ that perhaps I shall shew my Weakness) by way
 ‘ of Encouragement to you to go on in this Work.

‘ And give me Leave to begin thus : I confess I
 ‘ never look’d to see such a Day as this ; it may
 ‘ be nor you, when *Jesus Christ* shall be own’d as
 ‘ he is this Day, and in this World : *Jesus Christ*
 ‘ is own’d this Day by you all, and you own
 ‘ him by your Willingness in appearing here ;
 ‘ and you manifest this, as far as poor Creatures
 ‘ can, to be a Day of the Power of *Christ* by your
 ‘ Willingness. I know you remember that Scrip-
 ‘ ture in *Psalms cx. 3.* *The People shall be willing*
 ‘ *in the Day of thy Power* : God doth manifest it
 ‘ to be a Day of the Power of *Jesus Christ*.

‘ Having thro’ so much Blood and so much Trials
 ‘ as have been upon these Nations, made this to
 ‘ be one of the great Illues thereof : To have a
 ‘ People

‘ People call’d to the Supreme Authority upon
 ‘ such an avowed Account, God hath owned his
 ‘ Son by this ; and you, by your Willingness, do
 ‘ own *Jesus Christ* ; and therefore, for my Part, I
 ‘ confess I did never look to see such a Sight.

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‘ Perhaps you are not known by Face one to
 ‘ another ; but we must tell you this, that indeed
 ‘ we have not allowed ourselves in the Choice of
 ‘ one Person in whom we had not this good
 ‘ Hope, that there was Faith in *Jesus Christ*, and
 ‘ Love to all his Saints and People. And thus
 ‘ God hath own’d you in the Face and Eyes of
 ‘ the World ; and thus by your coming hither,
 ‘ have you own’d him, as it is in *Isaiah* xliii. 21.
 ‘ (it is an high Expression, and look to your own
 ‘ Hearts whether now or hereafter God shall ap-
 ‘ ply it to you) *This People*, saith he, *have I form-*
 ‘ *ed for myself, that they might shew forth my*
 ‘ *Praise*. It is a memorable Place, and, I hope,
 ‘ not unfitly applied : God apply it to each of your
 ‘ Hearts. I shall not descant upon the Words ;
 ‘ they are plain ; you are as like the forming of
 ‘ God as ever People were. If any Man should
 ‘ ask you one by one, and should tender a Book
 ‘ to you, you would dare to swear, that neither
 ‘ directly nor indirectly did you seek to come hi-
 ‘ ther : You have been passive in coming hither,
 ‘ in being call’d hither ; and that is an active
 ‘ Word.

‘ *This People I have form’d*. Consider the Cir-
 ‘ cumstances by which you are called together ;
 ‘ through what Difficulties, through what Strivings,
 ‘ through what Blood, you are come hither. Nei-
 ‘ ther you nor I, nor no Man living, three Months
 ‘ ago, had a Thought to have seen such a Com-
 ‘ pany taking upon them, or rather being called to,
 ‘ the Supreme Authority ; and therefore own your
 ‘ Call.

‘ Indeed, I think, as it may be truly said, that
 ‘ never was a Supreme Authority consisting of so
 ‘ numerous a Body as you are, which I believe are
 ‘ above

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' above 140, who were ever in the Supreme Autho-
 ' rity, under such a Notion, in such a Way of owning
 ' of God, and being owned by him; and therefore
 ' I say also, never a People formed for such a Pur-
 ' pose, so called; if it were a Time to compare your
 ' Standing with those that have been called by the
 ' Suffrages of the People. Who can tell how soon
 ' God may fit the People for such a Thing, and
 ' who would desire any Thing more in the World
 ' but that it might be so? I would all the Lord's
 ' People were Prophets; I would they were fit to
 ' be called, and fit to call; and it is the Longing of
 ' our Hearts to see them once own the Interest of
 ' *Jesus Christ*: And give me Leave to say, if I know
 ' any Thing in the World, what is there more like
 ' to win the People to the Interest and Love of God?
 ' Nay what a Duty will lie upon you, to have your
 ' Conversation such, as that they may love you;
 ' that they may see you lay out your Time and Spi-
 ' rits for them? Is not this the most likely Way to
 ' bring them to their Liberties? And do you not
 ' by this put it upon God to find the Time and the
 ' Season for it? By pouring forth his Spirit, at
 ' least, by convincing them that, as Men fearing
 ' God have fought them out of their Thralldom
 ' and Bondage under the Regal Power, so Men
 ' fearing God rule them in the Fear of God, and
 ' take Care to administer Good unto them. But
 ' this is some Digression: I say, own your Call; for
 ' indeed it is marvelous and 'tis of God, and it
 ' hath been unprojected, unthought of by you and
 ' us; and that hath been the Way God hath dealt
 ' with us all along to keep Things from our Eyes;
 ' that in what we have acted we have seen nothing
 ' before us: which also is a Witness in some Mea-
 ' sure to our Integrity. I say, you are called with
 ' a high Call, and why should we be afraid to say
 ' or think that this Way may be the Door to usher
 ' in Things that God hath promised and prophe-
 ' sied of, and to set the Hearts of his People to
 ' wait for and expect? We know who they are
 ' that

‘ that shall war with the Lamb against his Enemies;
 ‘ they shall be a People called, chosen, and faith-
 ‘ ful; and in the Military Way, (we must speak
 ‘ it without Flattery) I believe you know it, he
 ‘ hath acted with them, and for them, and now in
 ‘ the Civil Power and Authority; and these are
 ‘ not ill Prognostications for that Good we wait
 ‘ for.

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‘ Indeed I do think something is at the Door,
 ‘ we are at the Threshold; and therefore it be-
 ‘ comes us to lift up our Heads, and to encourage
 ‘ ourselves in the Lord: And we have some of us
 ‘ thought it our Duty to endeavour this Way, not
 ‘ vainly looking on that Prophecy in *Daniel*, *And*
 ‘ *the Kingdom shall not be delivered to another People*.
 ‘ Truly God hath brought it into your Hands, by
 ‘ his owning, and blessing, and calling out a Mili-
 ‘ tary Power; God hath persuaded their Hearts to
 ‘ be instrumental in calling you; and this hath been
 ‘ set upon our Hearts, and upon all the Faithful
 ‘ in the Land; it may be that it is not our Duty
 ‘ to deliver it over to any other People, and that
 ‘ Scripture may be fulfilling now to us: But I may
 ‘ be beyond my Line. But I thank God I have
 ‘ my Hopes exercised in these Things, and so I
 ‘ am persuaded are yours: Truly, seeing that these
 ‘ Things are so, that you are at the Edge of the
 ‘ Promises and Prophecies; at least, if there were
 ‘ neither Promise for this nor Prophecy, you co-
 ‘ vet the best Things, you endeavour after the
 ‘ best Things; and as I have said elsewhere, if I
 ‘ were to chuse the meanest Officer in the Army
 ‘ or Commonwealth, I would chuse a godly Man
 ‘ that hath Principles, especially where Trust is to
 ‘ be committed, because I know where to have a
 ‘ Man that hath Principles. I believe if any Man
 ‘ of you should chuse a Servant you would do so;
 ‘ and I would all our Magistrates were so chosen;
 ‘ there may be good Effects of this. It is our Duty
 ‘ to chuse Men that fear the Lord to praise the
 ‘ Lord, yea such as the Lord forms for himself,
 ‘ and be expect not Praises from others: This be-
 ‘ ing

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ing so, it puts me in Mind of another Scripture
 Psalm, lxxviii. 22. which indeed is a glorious Pro-
 phesy, and I am persuaded of the Gospel, or it
 may be of the *Jews* also; there it is prophesied,
He will bring his People again out of the Depths
of the Sea, as once he led Israel through the Red
Sea. And it may be some do think God is bring-
 ing the *Jews* home to their Station from the Isles
 of the Sea: Surely when God sets up the Glory
 of the Gospel Church, it shall be a Gathering
 People out of deep Waters, out of the Multi-
 tude of Waters; such are his People drawn out
 of the Multitudes of the Nations, and People of
 the World. And that Psalm will be very glori-
 ous in many other Parts of it, *When he gave the*
Word, great was the Company of them that pub-
lished it; Kings of the Armies did flee apace, and
she that tarried at home divided the Spoil: And
although ye have lain among the Pots yet shall ye be
as the Wings of a Dove covered with Silver, and
her Feathers with yellow Gold. And indeed the
 Triumph of that Psalm is exceeding high and
 great, and God is accomplishing it; and for the
 Close of it, that closeth with my Heart, and I am
 persuaded will with yours also, that God shakes
 Hills and Mountains and they reel; and God
 hath a Hill too, and his Hill is as the Hill of *Bas-*
shan; and the Chariots of God are 20,000 of
 Angels, and God will dwell upon this Hill for
 ever.

Truly, I am sorry that I have troubled you,
 in such a Place of Heat as this is, so long; all
 that I have to say in my own Name, and in the
 Names of my Fellow Officers, who have joined
 with me in this Work is, That we shall commend
 you to the Grace of God and to the Guidance of
 his Spirit. Having thus far served you, or rather
 our Lord *Jesus Christ* in it, we are, as we hope,
 and shall be, ready in our Stations, according as
 the Providence of God shall lead us, to be sub-
 servient to the Work of God, and the Authority
 which we reckon God hath set over us. And
 although

‘ although we have no formal Thing to present
 ‘ you with, to which the Hands and outward vi-
 ‘ sible Expressions of the Hearts of the Officers of
 ‘ the three Nations are set; yet we may say for them,
 ‘ and we may say also with Confidence for our
 ‘ Brethren at Sea, with whom, neither in *Scot-*
 ‘ *land*, nor *Ireland*, nor at Sea, hath any Artifice
 ‘ been used to persuade their Approbations to this
 ‘ Work; yet we can say, that their Consent and
 ‘ Affections hath flowed into us from all Parts be-
 ‘ yond our Expectations: And we are confident
 ‘ we may say with all Confidence, that we have
 ‘ had their Approbations and full Consent, un-
 ‘ sought indeed to the other Work; so that you
 ‘ have their Hearts and Affections in this; and not
 ‘ only they, but we have very many Papers from
 ‘ the Churches of God throughout the Nation,
 ‘ wonderfully both approving what hath been done
 ‘ in removing Obstacles, and approving what we
 ‘ have done in this very Thing. And having said
 ‘ this, I shall trouble you no more; but if you will
 ‘ be pleased that this Instrument may be read, which
 ‘ I have signed by the Advice of the Council of Of-
 ‘ ficers, we shall then leave you to your own
 ‘ Thoughts, and to the Guidance of God, to order
 ‘ and dispose of yourselves for further Meetings as
 ‘ you shall see Cause.’

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The Authority before cited proceeds to inform
 us, ‘ That when the Lord-General *Cromwell* had
 ended this very grave, christian, and seasonable
 Speech^f, his Excellency produced an Instrument un-
 der his own Hand and Seal, whereby he did, with the
 Advice of his Officers, devolve and intrust the Su-
 preme Authority and Government of this Com-
 monwealth unto the Persons then met; any forty
 of whom were to be deem’d the Supreme Autho-
 rity of the Nation, and to whom all Persons with-
 in

^f Mr. *Carrington*, in his *Life of Cromwell*, asserts, ‘ That this
 Speech was pronounced in so excellent a Manner, as sufficiently
 manifested that (as the Lord-General himself was thoroughly per-
 suaded) the Spirit of God acted in and by him.’

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in the same were to yield Obedience and Subjection; but not to sit longer than the third of November, 1654; and then other Members, being called, were to succeed them: That the said Instrument being, by his Excellency, delivered to them, he did then commend them to the Grace of God. After which, his Lordship and the Officers being withdrawn, the said Persons so met, and having the Supreme Authority put into their Hands, after a short Space, adjourn'd untill the Morning, and appointed to meet where the late Parliament sat; there to keep that Day in Fasting and Prayer, to seek God for Direction in this great Work, and for his Presence and Blessing therein; and all the said Persons at their Meeting, and all the Time of their being together, manifested a very great Chearfulness and Willingness to this Work.'

Before we enter upon the Proceedings of this Convention, we shall first exhibit a List of the Names of the Persons of whom it consisted, with the Places they were summoned to represent, viz.

Names of the
Persons to whom
Cromwell delegat-
ed the Supreme
Authority of the
Nation.

BEDFORDSHIRE.

Nathaniel Taylor,
Edward Cater.

BERKSHIRE.

Samuel Dunch,
Vincent Goddard,
Thomas Wood.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

George Fleetwood,
George Baldwin.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

John Sadler,
Thomas French,
Robert Castle,
Samuel Warner.

CHESHIRE.

Col. Robert Duckenfield,
Henry Birkhead.

CORNWALL.

Col. Robert Bennet,
Francis Langden,
Anthony Reus,
John Bawden.

CUMBERLAND.

Col. Robert Penwick.

DERBYSHIRE.

Jerome Bennet,
Col. Nathaniel Barton.

DEVONSHIRE.

George Moncke, one of
the Generals at Sea,
John

Of ENGLAND. 177

*John Carew,
Major Thomas Saunders,
Christopher Martin,
James Erisey,
Francis Rouse, Speaker^d,
Richard Sweet.*

DORSETSHIRE.

*Col. William Sydenham,
Col. John Bingham.*

DURHAM.

Henry Davison.

ESSEX.

*Col. Joachim Matthews,
Henry Barrington,
John Brewster,
Christopher Earl,
Dudley Templer.*

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

*John Crofts,
William Neast,
Robert Holmes.*

HEREFORDSHIRE.

*Wroth Rogers,
John Herring.*

HERTFORDSHIRE.

*Col. Henry Laurence,
William Reeve.*

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

*Col. Edward Montagu,
Stephen Pheasant.*

KENT.

*Lord Viscount Lisle,
VOL. XX.*

*Col. Thomas Blount,
Col. William Kenrick,
William Cullen,
Andrew Broughton.*

LANCASHIRE.

*Col. William West,
John Sawrey,
Robert Cunliffe.*

LEICESTERSHIRE.

*Col. Henry Danvers,
Edward Smith,
John Pratt.*

LINCOLNSHIRE.

*Sir William Brownlow,
Richard Cust,
Barnaby Bowtell,
Humphry Walcot,
William Thompson.*

MIDDLESEX.

*Sir William Roberts,
Augustine Wingfield,
Arthur Squibb.*

London.

*Ald. Robert Titchburne,
Ald. John Ireton,
Samuel Moyer,
John Langley,
Capt. John Stone,
Henry Barton,
Praise-God Barbone.*

MONMOUTHSHIRE.

Col. Philip Jones.

NORFOLK.

Robert Jermy,

Tobias

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^d Provost of *Eaton* College, and Member for *Truro* in the late Parliament. He published a Translation of the *Psalms*.

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*Tobias Frere,
Ralph Wolmer,
Henry King,
William Burton.*

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.
*Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bt.
Thomas Brooke.*

NORTHUMBERLAND.
Henry Ogle.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.
*John Odinjels,
Edward Cludd.*

OXFORDSHIRE.
*Sir Charles Woljeley,
William Draper,
Dr. Jonathan Goddard.*

RUTLANDSHIRE.
Major Edw. Horseman.

SHROPSHIRE.
*William Bottrell,
Thomas Baker.*

SOMERSETSHIRE.
*Robert Blake, one of the
Generals at Sea,
Col. John Pine,
Dennis Hollister,
Henry Henley.*

SOUTHAMPTONSHIRE.
*Col. Richard Norton,
Richard Major,
John Hildesley.*

STAFFORDSHIRE.
*George Bellot,
John Chetwood.*

SUFFOLK.

*Jacob Caley,
Francis Brewster,
Robert Dunkon,
Col. John Clark,
Edward Plumstead.*

SURREY.

*Samuel Highland,
Lawrence March.*

SUSSEX.

*Anthony Stapeley,
William Spence,
Nathaniel Studeley.*

WARWICKSHIRE.

*John St. Nicholas,
Richard Lucy.*

WESTMORELAND.

Col. Charles Howard.

WILTSHIRE.

*Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper,
Nicholas Green,
Thomas Eyre.*

WORCESTERSHIRE.

*Major Richard Salway,
Col. John James.*

YORKSHIRE.

*George Lord Eure,
Walter Strickland,
Francis Lascelles,
John Anlaby,
Thomas Dickenson,
Thomas St. Nicholas,
Roger Coats,
Edward Gill.*

WALES

W A L E S.

*Buffy Mansell,
James Philips,
John Williams,
Hugh Courteney,
Richard Price,
John Brown.*

*John Swinton,
William Lockhart,
Alexander Jeffrys.*

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I R E L A N D.

*Sir Robert King,
Col. John Herveyson,
Col. Henry Cromwell,
Col. John Clark,
Col. Daniel Hutchinson,
Vincent Gookin.*

S C O T L A N D.

*Sir James Hope, of Hop-
ton,
Alexander Brodie,*

We shall now look into the Historians of the Times for the Characters of these Persons, who, in this Unconstitutional Manner, took upon them the Supreme Authority of Three Nations. Their Character.

Lord Clarendon^b writes, ‘ That there were amongst them divers of the Quality and Degree of Gentlemen, and who had Estates, and such a Proportion of Credit and Reputation as could consist with the Guilt they had contracted: But that much the major Part of them consisted of inferior Persons, of no Quality or Name, Artificers of the meanest Trades, known only by their Gifts in praying and preaching, which was now practised by all Degrees of Men, but Scholars, throughout the Kingdom: And in this Number, that there might be a better Judgment made of the rest, his Lordship thought it not amiss to name one, from whom that Parliament itself was afterwards denominated, who was *Praise-God Barbone*, a Leatherfeller in *Fleet-street*; from whom, he being an eminent Speaker in it, it was afterwards call’d *Praise-God Barbone’s* Parliament: And that, in a Word, they were generally a Pack of weak senseless Fellows, fit only to bring the Name and Reputation of Parliaments lower than it was yet.’

Another Contemporary^c styles them ‘ A Set of Men for the most Part of such mean and ignote

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Extraction,

^b *History*, Vol. VI. 8vo Ed. p. 482.

^c *Ingellon, or the Life and Death, Birth and Burial, of Oliver Cromwell*, by Mr. Heath, p. 137.

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Extraction that so far were they from being taken Notice of by their Shires, each of whom (but two or three) represented, that they were scarce known in the very Towns where they were born, or afterwards inhabited, till the Excise, then Committees for Sequestration, and the War in the respective Counties, made them infamously known: And that the rest were of *Cromwell's* Partizans in the Parliament and High Court of Justice.*

Mr. *Whitlocke* ^d remarks, 'That many of this Assembly being Persons of Fortune and Knowledge, it was much wondered by some that they would at this Summons, and from such Hands, take upon them the Supreme Authority of this Nation, considering how little Authority *Cromwell* and his Officers had to give it, or these Gentlemen to take it.'

We shall conclude the Character of the Members of this Convention with Mr. *Ludlow* ^e. This *Memorialist* informs us, 'That many of the Members of this Assembly had manifested a good Affection to the Public Cause; but some there were among them who were brought in as Spies and Trepanners; and though they had been always of the contrary Party, made the highest Pictensions to Honesty, and the Service of the Nation: That this Assembly therefore being composed, for the most Part, of honest and well-meaning Persons, (who, having good Intentions, were less ready to suspect the evil Designs of others) thought themselves in full Possession of the Power and Authority of the Nation, and therefore proceeded to the making of Laws relating to the Public.'

Though Historians differ so much in their Characters of this Assembly, yet they all seem to agree in passing over their Proceedings with the most affected Neglect: They do little more than mention their Coming together and their Dissolution: We shall

^d *Memorials*, p. 534.

^e *Annals*, Vol. II. p. 463.

* There are also some Sketches of the Character of this Assembly in *Clarke's State Papers*, Vol. I. p. 312, 323, 356.

shall therefore endeavour to supply this Defect, or more probably wilful Partiality, from the *Journals* of the House of Commons, (which are printed with the same Exactness and Order as any of the foregoing legal Parliaments) and from other Authorities of the Times. ^f

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We have before taken Notice, That, after *Cromwell* had harangued the new Members at *Whitehall*, and invested them with the Supreme Authority of the Nation, they resolved to meet at the old Parliament-House the next Day: Accordingly, about Eight in the Morning, many of them assembled there; where, say our Authorities above cited, (which we chuse to copy in their own Style and Language, to shew the Enthusiastic Temper of the Times) ‘They began with seeking God by Prayer; and the Lord did so draw forth the Hearts of them, that they did not find any Necessity to call for the Help of a Minister, but perform’d the Service amongst themselves; eight or ten speaking in Prayer to God, and some briefly from the Word; minding what

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^f *Several Proceedings of Parliament, from the Day of their first Meeting, July 4, 1653. Printed by John Field, and licensed by Mr. Scobell, Clerk of the House*—In the Preface to this *Journal* we are told, ‘That the Reason of printing it was to prevent false or imperfect Accounts being obtruded upon the Public:’ And in the Introduction to the foregoing List it is said, ‘That there being an Order of the House for all Petitions to be presented by some Member, it was necessary that the Country should know who were their Representatives.’—The Nation was most certainly come to a fine Pass, when the Counties knew not the Names of their own Members, till a List of them was printed!

Several Proceedings of State Affairs in England, Ireland, and Scotland. Entered into the Register-Book kept by the Company of Stationers, according to the late Act for Printing.

Mercurius Politicus, entered as the above.

An exact Relation of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Parliament, which began July 4, 1653, by a Member thereof. Printed for Live well Chapman, at the Crown in Pope’s-Head Alley, 1654.

These, and many other valuable Tracts, were Part of Bishop *Moor’s* Library, purchased of his Executors by his late Majesty King *George the First*, and presented by him to the University of *Cambridge*, in 1715. That Learned Body, in Senate, was pleased to pass a Grace for the Loan of such Volumes as the Compilers of this Work had Occasion to: A Favour, which they think it their Duty gratefully to acknowledge.

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the Lord-General had said to them at *Whitehall* the Day before; and what Expectation God's People had in this Commonwealth for them to do, in the Work of the Lord; and by Prayer, seeking to God for Direction and Assistance in this great Work, and for a Blessing upon their Endeavours therein: That much of the Presence of *Christ*, and his Spirit, appeared at that Time, to the great gladding of the Hearts of many; some affirming they never enjoyed so much of the Spirit and Presence of *Christ* in any of the Meetings and Exercises of Religion in all their Lives, as they did that Day.

About Six in the Evening they proceeded to Business, and resolved, That *Francis Reuse*, Esq; be called to the Chair. This was the only Ceremony they used in appointing their Speaker; and it was afterwards declared, That such Persons as were called to the Chair, in that Manner, should be styled *Speaker*. A Committee was nominated to go to the Lord-General, and desire him to afford his Presence and Assistance as a Member of the House: They also resolved that Major-General *Lambert*, Major-General *Harrison*, Major-General *Desborough*, and Colonel *Matthew Tomlinson*, should be called to sit as Members; and appointed Mr. *Scobell* to be their Clerk.

And declare themselves to be the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England.

July 6. The Question being put, That the House go on in seeking the Lord this Day, it passed in the Negative, and *Monday* the 11th was appointed for that holy Exercise. They next altered some Mistakeners in the Instrument for their sitting; and then fell into a Debate about the Style or Title wherein all Addresses should be made to the House: And the Question being put, That the Title of *Parliament* be given to this Assembly, the House divided into Yeas, 65; Nays, 46. And the further Debate concerning what Addition should be made to the Word *Parliament*, was referred to the next Day, when these Words, *of the Commonwealth of England*, were added to it.

Nothing

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Nothing else material this Day, except appointing *Edward Birkhead*, Esq; to be their Serjeant at Arms, and nominating other Officers of the House; in which special Care was to be taken, that no Person should be employed or admitted into their Service, but such as they were first well satisfied of their real Godliness.

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July 9. The House proceeded to elect a new Council of State, though upon the last Foundation; who were to act by the same Instructions, with some few Additions and Alterations. The Number that was to constitute this Body were 31, of which nine were to be a *Quorum*, viz. The Lord-General *Cromwell*; the Majors General *Lambert*, *Harrison*, and *Desborough*; Col. *Matthew Tomlinson*; Sir *Gilbert Pickering*; *Walter Strickland* and *John Carew*, Esq^{rs}. the Colonels *Philip Jones*, *Stapley*, and *William Sidenham*; Mr. *Samuel Moyer*, Col. *Bennet*, Major *Salway*, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, Mr. *Richard Norton*, Alderman *Titchburne*, Col. *Hewson*, Mr. *John Williams*, Mr. *Howard*, Mr. *H. Laurence*, Mr. *Hollister*, Mr. *Courtney*, the Lord Viscount *Lisse*, Mr. *Broughton*, Mr. *Major*, Col. *Montagu*, Mr. *Thomas St. Nicholas*, Sir *James Hyde*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, and Sir *Charles Wolseley*. Several Committees were appointed for divers Affairs, particularly for those of *Ireland* and *Scotland*.

They elect a new Council of State.

The 11th of this Month was spent wholly by the House in seeking the Lord, in a special Manner, for Counsel, and a Blessing on the Proceedings of this Parliament; when about twelve of the Members prayed and spoke till Four in the Afternoon. The Lord General was present, and it was a comfortable Day.

They spend a whole Day in Prayer;

We have before observed, That this House had no Occasion for a Chaplain: And from this Day their constant Method was, That as soon as about a Dozen Members were met, they began with Prayer; and so continued praying, one after another, till

Inter-regnum. till there was a sufficient Number assembled to
 1653. make up a House; and then the Speaker took the
 { Chair.
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July 12. The House having spent the Day before in Prayer to God for his Counsel and Direction in their Affairs, a Committee was appointed to draw up a Declaration, to invite the People of this Commonwealth to seek unto the Lord for the same Blessing; which was done accordingly, ordered to be printed, and sent to the Sheriffs, &c. of the several Counties and Cities in *England*, to be by them published in their respective Districts, as follows:

And publish a Declaration, inviting the whole Nation to pray for God's Blessing upon their Government.

‘ **B**Eing, since the Dissolution of the late Parliament, in an extraordinary Manner, publickly summoned, and required to take upon us the Supreme Government of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; upon mature Deliberation, we have judged it meet and requisite, for the present Peace and Safety of these Nations, to undergo that great and heavy Burden.

‘ And in order thereunto, we do declare ourselves to be the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*; in which we are very sensible of a great Weight lying on us, and a great Trust reposed in us. And although we are compassed about with much Weakness and human Frailty, yet in Integrity, we hope, we may truly speak before the Lord, That we do earnestly desire, and, with his Assistance, shall endeavour to demean ourselves in all Things, as becometh those who are set by God for the Good of all: And, in all, to be as tender of the Lives, Estates, Liberties, just Rights and Properties of all others, as we are of ourselves and our Posterities, whom we expect still to be governed by successive Parliaments.

‘ And although we are very tender of pressing Covenants or Engagements, yet we expect and believe that all peaceful and good People of this
 ‘ Common-

‘ Commonwealth will, in all Things, deport
‘ themselves suitable to that Protection, which
‘ they do or may expect from us : And in this, we
‘ hope, well-grounded Confidence, we thus speak
‘ to all the Lord’s People, both in this and the
‘ neighbour Nations.

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‘ We should much condemn ourselves of very
‘ great Unthankfulness to God, if we should not
‘ always remember, and, upon all Occasions, make
‘ Mention of, his Lovingkindness to these Nations
‘ in the Day of their Trouble ; in which the Lord
‘ hath already wrought so many great Things, as
‘ have exceeded, not only our Expressions, but our
‘ Hopes and Expectations : We are also very sen-
‘ sible how much, under God, we owe to those
‘ who, during the late Troubles, have in any Ca-
‘ pacity wrought with the Lord, and been faithful
‘ with his People, in beginning and carrying on
‘ those great Works, which have so much filled
‘ all our Enemies with Amazement, and our
‘ Friends with Admiration.

‘ Yet we cannot but acknowledge, that we are
‘ not yet at rest, nor can believe we have yet en-
‘ joyed or seen enough to accomplish the Ends of
‘ God ; or satisfy the Thoughts of Men for that vast
‘ Expence of Blood and Treasure, which could not
‘ have been endured with any Patience, but in
‘ hope that, at length, those bitter Pangs and Throws
‘ would make some Way for that long expected
‘ Birth of Peace, Freedom, and Happiness, both
‘ to the Souls and Bodies of the Lord’s People :
‘ And although we do not see it fully brought forth,
‘ yet we do not despair, but, in God’s due Time,
‘ it shall be so ; and that the dark black Clouds of
‘ the Night shall fly before the bright Morning-
‘ Star, and the Shakings of Heaven and Earth
‘ make Way for the Desire of all Nations : Nay,
‘ there are many Things which make us hope the
‘ Time is near at Hand ; for we see the Clouds
‘ begin to scatter, and the dark Shadows fly away ;
‘ Streams of Light appear, and the Day is surely
‘ dawned.

‘ Neither

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‘ Neither are we wholly alone in these Hopes ;
 ‘ for if we be not very much deceived, many, if
 ‘ not all the People of God in all the World, are
 ‘ in a more than usual Expectation of some great
 ‘ and strange Changes coming on the World, which
 ‘ we believe can hardly be paralleled with any
 ‘ Times, but those a while before the Birth of our
 ‘ Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*. And we do not
 ‘ yet know that any Records of all the Nations in
 ‘ the World (we scarce except the *Jews* them-
 ‘ selves) can afford such a Series of Divine Provi-
 ‘ ence, or more clear Impressions of the Goings
 ‘ forth and Actings of God in any People, than
 ‘ hath been in these Nations. And we are very
 ‘ confident, that those who were our Enemies did
 ‘ not believe it only an Arm of Flesh, but the Finger
 ‘ of God, and his almighty Hand which hath been
 ‘ lifted up and seen so eminent and wonderful : *Be*
 ‘ *silent then all Flesh before the Lord, for he is rai-*
 ‘ *sed up out of his holy Habitation*, Zech. ii. 13.

‘ And as we believe the Lord hath never yet
 ‘ stept back, or withdrawn his mighty Arm, after
 ‘ he had gone so far, and done so much, and had
 ‘ made his People willing and desirous still to fol-
 ‘ low him ; so, we also hope, his great and free
 ‘ Goodness will not forsake his People here, or
 ‘ suffer them to forsake him, or to deal falsely with
 ‘ him in his Cause, till he hath accomplished his
 ‘ great Works, and brought about his great Ends,
 ‘ whose Gifts and Callings are without Repentance.
 ‘ Is the Lord’s Hand shortened that he cannot save ?
 ‘ Is he a Man that he should turn, repent, with-
 ‘ draw, or look back ? Shall he bring to the Birth,
 ‘ and shall he not give Strength enough to bring
 ‘ forth ? He is the same God, and changeth not.
 ‘ And if this be of God, it shall stand ; and let
 ‘ every one take Heed of fighting against God :
 ‘ This is all we say, if it be from God, let him
 ‘ prosper and bleis it ; but if not, let it fall, though
 ‘ we fall before it.

‘ If indeed we stand up in our own Strength or
 ‘ Wisdom, Policy or Policy ; (that we say not Lust,

Am-

‘ Ambition, Pride, or Avarice) the Lord himself
 ‘ will judge and find it out. But we hope himself
 ‘ hath, in some Measure, taught us his Goodness,
 ‘ and our Evil; his Strength and Wisdom, but
 ‘ our Weakness and Foolishness: So that, when
 ‘ we look upon ourselves, we are much afraid, and
 ‘ tremble at the mighty Work and heavy Weight
 ‘ before us; which we justly acknowledge far a-
 ‘ bove, and quite beyond our Strength to weild or
 ‘ poize; so that we oft cry out and say with *Jeho-*
 ‘ *shaphat*, *O Lord, we know not what to do, but*
 ‘ *our Eyes are towards thee.*

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‘ We are also, in some Measure, sensible how
 ‘ much it becometh us to humble our Souls often
 ‘ before the Lord, and to seek his Face, in whom
 ‘ alone is all our Strength, and from whom alone
 ‘ must all our Help proceed. And although we de-
 ‘ sire to be frequent in this ourselves (as we have
 ‘ already endeavoured in some poor Measure) yet
 ‘ we do so exceedingly value the fervent Prayers of
 ‘ the Lord’s People, that we earnestly desire and
 ‘ entreat them all in their Approaches to the Throne
 ‘ of Grace, to be very mindful of us, and the
 ‘ weighty Work before us. And although we ac-
 ‘ knowledge solemn Times of Fasting and Prayer
 ‘ to be Ordinances of great Use and Advantage in
 ‘ public or private, yet we desire to be so exceeding
 ‘ tender, lest we may haply insnare any, or disturb
 ‘ them in their own Occasions or Worship of God,
 ‘ that we do not prescribe or limit out the punctual
 ‘ Days or Times we would have set a-part for this
 ‘ great Work we desire of them.

‘ But as now (for the short Time of this present
 ‘ Parliament) we are set apart from our own Occa-
 ‘ sions for the Work of God and his People; so
 ‘ we again most earnestly desire of them (for whom
 ‘ we desire to lay out ourselves) that they also would
 ‘ be very faithful to God and us; and as the Lord
 ‘ shall give them Freedom, would give up them-
 ‘ selves to solemn and most serious earnest Prayers
 ‘ and Supplications to the God of all our Strength
 ‘ and

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‘ and Hopes : That he would please, in much
 ‘ Goodness, more and more to make and keep us
 ‘ little in our own Eyes ; and of such meek and
 ‘ humble Spirits, that he may delight to converse
 ‘ with us, and to teach us to be yet more really
 ‘ self-denying, and less confident of ourselves ;
 ‘ more dependent upon God, and more resigning
 ‘ all we are, and all we have, to his holy Pleasure ;
 ‘ that he would please to shew us more of his own
 ‘ Will and our Way ; that he would make us faith-
 ‘ ful and courageous under him in all that he shall
 ‘ teach us for his Will and Way ; and that he would
 ‘ so unite all our Hearts to himself, that, in the
 ‘ Power and Spirit of his Son *Jesus*, we may be all
 ‘ one among ourselves, and with all the People of
 ‘ God, who are Members of the Body of *Christ* ;
 ‘ and from the same Head are all acted by the same
 ‘ Spirit, notwithstanding any Distance, Difference,
 ‘ or seeming Deformity : That in all we may be
 ‘ fitted and used as Instruments in the Hand of
 ‘ God, for a more full and clear revealing of the
 ‘ Lord *Jesus*, for the right Promulgation of his blef-
 ‘ sed Gospel, and for the true Interest of his King-
 ‘ dom, and Advancement thereof in the Hearts of
 ‘ Men, by real true Goodness, Righteousness,
 ‘ Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghost ; that all op-
 ‘ pressing Yokes may be broken, and all Burdens
 ‘ removed, and the Loins also of the Poor and
 ‘ Needy may be filled with Blessing.

‘ And however it shall please the Lord to do by
 ‘ us, or to deal with us ; if he shall say he hath
 ‘ no Pleasure in us, we are most unworthy, *Here*
 ‘ *we are, let him do what is good in his own Eyes* ;
 ‘ for he is holy in all his Ways, and righteous in
 ‘ all his Works ; yet we humbly desire that our-
 ‘ selves, and all the People of God, may be still
 ‘ faithful and fervent with him, wrestling in Pray-
 ‘ ers and Supplications, till he shall fully raise up
 ‘ his own Tabernacle, and build his Temple with
 ‘ his own Spirit, which he hath promised to pour
 ‘ upon all Flesh ; and raise up Governors after his
 ‘ own

' own Heart, and Teachers after his own Will, to
 ' make Exactors Peace, and Officers Righteous-
 ' ness: That he may overcome the Evil of the
 ' World with his Goodness, and fill the whole
 ' Earth with his Glory; that his Will may be done
 ' on Earth as now in Heaven; that Righteousness
 ' may spring out of the Earth, and may dwell here,
 ' and Righteousness and Peace may kiss each other;
 ' and that all his People may have one Lip, one
 ' Heart, one Consent, and one Shoulder to bow
 ' down and worship him; that the Envy of *Judah*
 ' and *Ephraim* may be taken away; and that they
 ' may be one in the same Fold with one Shepherd;
 ' that all Wars may cease to the Ends of the Earth,
 ' and that all Nations may turn their Swords and
 ' Spears into Plough-Shares and Pruning-Hooks;
 ' that the Wolf may feed with the Lamb, and the
 ' Earth be full of the Knowledge of God as Wa-
 ' ters cover the Sea; that upon every House or As-
 ' sembly may be a Cloud by Day, and a Pillar of
 ' Fire by Night, as is promised, and was of old
 ' upon the Tabernacle; that every one may be
 ' holy, and the Pots, nay, the Bells upon the
 ' Horses, may be Holiness to the Lord.


' And that in Peace and Joy we may all wait,
 ' expect and long for his glorious Coming, who
 ' is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, our Hope
 ' and Righteousness; who is still to ride on pro-
 ' sperously, conquering and to conquer, till he hath
 ' subdued all his Enemies; and, at length, come
 ' to deliver up the Kingdom to his Father, that
 ' God may reign, and be all in all.'

July 13. The House now began to shew that
 their Intentions were not confined to Religious Mat-
 ters only; for they revived the Consideration of the
 Bill, never got through in the last Parliament, for
 correcting the Grievances and Inconveniences in
 the Proceedings of the Law; and also another on
 the Business of Tythes: This last Bill was de-
 bated for several Days ensuing, without any other
 material Business interfering, and at length refer'd to

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Committees appointed to redress Grievances, correct Abuses, and settle public Affairs. *July 20.* The House nominated and appointed divers other Committees; and, besides those for *Scotland* and *Ireland*, there was one for the Business of the Law; another for the Army; for inspecting the Treasuries, and regulating the Officers thereof and their Salaries; for receiving Petitions; for Trade and Corporations; for receiving Proposals for the Advantage of the Commonwealth; for the Poor, and inquiring into the Revenues of Hospitals; for regulating the Commissions of Peace throughout the Nation; for Public Debts; for receiving Accusations of Bribery, public Frauds, and Breach of public Trust, with Power to give Costs to Persons unjustly accused; for Prisons and Prisoners. There were also other Committees appointed for Advancement of Learning, and receiving all Propositions tending thereto; for removing all Laws and Ordinances which are Hindrances to the Progress of the Gospel; and, lastly, the House revived an Act for Redress of Delays and Mischiefs arising on Writs of Error, Writs of false Judgment, and Arrests of Judgment: All which look'd extremely well, and had the Appearance, at least, of establishing good Government in the Nation.

The rest of this Month was taken up with settling the Number and Names of the several Servants that were to attend the House; as also the Salaries and Fees assigned to them. Some Courts of Justice had Judges appointed for them, particularly the Court of Admiralty.

August 1. The House, being this Day inform'd how much the Country had been burdened, in the Manner of collecting the Excise, and oppressed by the Officers thereof, referred it to the Committee of

of Parliament appointed to inspect the Treasuries, and regulate Officers and Salaries, to consider how the Excise might be brought in with the greatest Ease to the People; and how the Oppressions and Burdens, in the managing of that Business, might be redressed for the future.

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The same Day Sir *Charles Wolseley* reported, from the Council of State, a Petition of *Charles Earl of Derby*, which was read, as follows:

To the Supreme Authority of this Nation, the PARLIAMENT of the COMMONWEALTH of England,

The HUMBLE PETITION of CHARLES Earl of DERBY,

Sheweth,

‘ **T**HAT your poor Petitioner hath long attended the late House of Parliament, praying their Relief for a Maintenance out of his late Father’s Estate, for himself, his Wife, and Children; but could never yet be so much as heard.

A Petition of
Charles Earl of Derby, for Relief:

‘ That the Council of State, after the Dissolution of the Parliament, was pleased to grant unto your Petitioner 500*l. per Annum*, out of his Mother’s Sequestration, as a Relief to him, his Wife, and Children, till further Order.

‘ That God having now put the Power of doing Justice, and relieving innocent suffering Persons, into your Hands, hath emboldened your Petitioner, in Behalf of himself, his Wife, and Children, to present to your Honours the true State of your Petitioner’s Condition; beseeching, ‘ That God would put it into your Thoughts to take it into serious Consideration; your Petitioner being in Danger every Hour to be arrested and laid up in Prison, for his necessitated Debts entered into, for want of Maintenance out of his late Father’s Estate; (your Petitioner hitherto enjoying no Benefit by the Order of the Council of State) and to order therein what in your charitable Wisdom shall seem meet.

And your Petitioner shall pray, &c.’

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The House allow
him 500*l.* per
Annum.

In Consequence of this Petition, the House resolved to allow the Earl of *Derby* 500*l.* per *Annum*, to be settled upon him and his Heirs, out of such Part of his late Father's Estate as was then unfold; and a Bill was order'd to be brought in for that Purpose.

Aug. 2. Mr. *Rouse* having now sat a Month in the Chair, as Speaker, he took his Place this Day as a Member; but, by the general Voice, was again called to the Chair, to keep it for one Month longer; from which Time he continued to be chosen Speaker every Month, till the Dissolution of this Parliament.

Proceedings a-
gainst Col. *John*
Lilburne.

In the Proceedings of *February*, 1651, Notice was taken that Lieutenant-Colonel *John Lilburne* (whose Trials and Sufferings have been so often mentioned in the Course of this Work) was order'd by the last Parliament to be banished; but hearing of their Dissolution, and the Change of Government consequent thereon, he ventured to come back to *England*; and, by Letter, applied to the Lord-General *Cromwell* for Protection, which he denying him, *Lilburne* was thrown into *Newgate*, and soon after ordered to be tried at the *Old Bailey*; but putting in Exceptions to the Bill of Indictment, the Trial was put off to the next Sessions. Hereupon a Petition was this Day presented to the House, in his Favour, intituled, *The Humble Petition of divers well-affected and constant Adherers to the Interest of Parliaments, and their own Native and Fundamental Rights and Freedoms therein concerned, young Men and Apprentices of the Cities of London and Westminster, Borough of Southwark, and the Parts adjacent.* This Petition was presented by six Persons, who being withdrawn, and called in again to the Bar, the Speaker ask'd their Names; to which one of them answered, Their Names were to the Petition. And being again ask'd, If he knew of the making of this Petition; he said, He was commanded by the rest of his Friends and Fellow-Apprentices

apprentices not to answer any Questions, but to demand an Answer to their Petition: Upon which they were ordered to withdraw, when the House voted the Petition to be a most high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament; scandalous and seditious; and the six Persons who deliver'd it, to be taken into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms; which was done accordingly. They were afterwards sent to *Bridewell*, there to be kept to hard Labour during the Pleasure of the House, who also referred it to the Council of State to examine the Authors, Subscribers, Abettors, and Printers of this Petition; and resolved, That Lieutenant-Colonel *John Lilburne* should be kept close Prisoner; and that the Keeper of *Newgate* do take Care to see the same done accordingly.

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The War with the *Dutch* still continued to be carried on with Vigour on both Sides, and about this Time another bloody Sea-Fight happened between the two contending Maritime Powers for the Empire of the Narrow Seas. The News of this Victory was sent in a Letter from General *Moncke*, dated from on board the *Resolution*, off *Camper-Down*, July 31, 1653, addressed to the Lord-President of the Council of State, and reported to the House, as follows:

Right Honourable,

‘ **H**OW great and wonderful the Lord hath been unto this Fleet, hath plainly appeared by his mighty and glorious Presence going along with us to the Ruin of our Enemies, and Preservation of his poor Servants, as will in some Measure appear by the ensuing Relation:

‘ Upon the 29th of this Month, about Nine in the Morning, the Wind at North-West, having weighed Anchor the Night before from the *Texel*, a Fleet was discovered by our Scouts a-head; which, within two Hours after, appeared to be the *Dutch* Fleet come from the *Weillings*, consisting of 97 Sail, or thereabouts, whereof 90

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Gen. *Moncke's*
Account of the
Defeat of the
Dutch Fleet.

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‘ were Men of War, as far as we could discern:
 ‘ Whereupon we made what Sail we could after
 ‘ them, fitting our Ships in the mean Time for an
 ‘ Engagement; but the Enemy tack’d about, and
 ‘ stood away from us when they perceived what we
 ‘ were; so that it was Five o’Clock in the Even-
 ‘ ing before any of our Frigates could come up to
 ‘ engage them, which they did; and, about Seven
 ‘ o’Clock, this Ship, with as many Ships and Fri-
 ‘ gates as made up 30 Sail, engaged with them, the
 ‘ rest being a stern could not get up; however, we
 ‘ fell to the Work, and continued fighting till Night
 ‘ separated us, which was about Nine o’Clock. Af-
 ‘ ter which Time, it being dark, all Hands were at
 ‘ Work to bring some new Sails to the Yards, and
 ‘ mend our Rigging, wherein we had suffered very
 ‘ much in so short a Time; there were kill’d out-
 ‘ right in this Ship, by this Evening’s Dispute,
 ‘ about 16 or 17, and 25 wounded, whereof 14
 ‘ dangerously. The Enemy got the Weather-Gage
 ‘ of us this Night, by standing to the Northward
 ‘ while we stood to the Southward, supposing they
 ‘ had been under our Lee, which appeared to the
 ‘ contrary in the Morning, for they were much to
 ‘ Windward of us. Yesterday little was done as
 ‘ to an Engagement, both Fleets finding it Work
 ‘ enough to get off from the Lee-Shore, having the
 ‘ Wind at W. N. W. blowing hard, with thick
 ‘ and dirty Weather, which was the worst for us,
 ‘ being on an Enemy’s Country.

‘ This Morning it, being fair Weather and
 ‘ little Wind, both Fleets prepared for a second
 ‘ Engagement, the Enemy bearing in upon us, ha-
 ‘ ving the Wind of us. To this Time the Lord
 ‘ seemed to encourage the Enemy, by laying the
 ‘ Scales, as it were, in a Balance, so that neither
 ‘ could tell which had the better: But good was
 ‘ the Lord unto us, who knew the best Time for
 ‘ Manifestation of his own Glory, in appearing for
 ‘ his own People, though unworthy of so great a
 ‘ Mercy; for, about Seven in the Morning, the
 ‘ great Ships from the *Texel*, being 25 in Number,

‘ ha-

‘ having made a Conjunction with them the Day
 ‘ before, there began a very hot Dispute with
 ‘ them, which so continued till One in the After-
 ‘ noon, the Enemy having the Wind of us all the
 ‘ while, whereby he had the Opportunity of taking
 ‘ all Advantages; yet truly may we say, great was
 ‘ the Lord, and marvellous, worthy to be praised
 ‘ for his glorious Appearance on our Behalf; for by
 ‘ this Time the Lord had so daunted their Spirits,
 ‘ that they began to bear away from us, making all
 ‘ the Sail they could with the Remainder of their
 ‘ Fleet, being not above 60 of their whole Num-
 ‘ ber; for, so far as I can gather, there cannot be
 ‘ less than 30 or 40 sunk, taken, and destroyed.

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‘ We are now in Pursuit of them with some of
 ‘ our best sailing Frigates, being almost up with
 ‘ some of their sternmost; and our Expectations still
 ‘ are great that the Lord will perfect the Work thus
 ‘ far begun and carried on; which I hope will be
 ‘ to the Glory of his Grace in us, as well as without
 ‘ us. The Enemy had nine Flag-Ships when he
 ‘ first engaged, and now but one left, and *Tromp’s*
 ‘ tied to the Top-mast, so far as I can discern. But
 ‘ I saw two of our own fired by the Enemy’s Fire-
 ‘ ships, whereof one was the *Oak*, whose Men
 ‘ were most of them saved; the other a Fire-ship.

‘ In the Fight the *Resolution*, with the *Worcester*
 ‘ Frigate, led the *English* Fleet, in a desperate and
 ‘ gallant Charge, through the whole *Dutch* Fleet.
 ‘ *Van Tromp’s* Top-mast was shot down, which he
 ‘ would have set up again, but could not, and so
 ‘ was fain to put his Flag upon his next Masts.
 ‘ Those of the *Dutch*, that are got into the *Texel*,
 ‘ are much shattered; *Tromp’s* Vice-Admiral sunk
 ‘ down by his Side. I am

Your Lordship’s humble Servant,

GEORGE MONCKE.

The next Day a Letter from Admiral *Moncke*,
 to the Lord-General *Cromwell*, was read in the
 House, advising, ‘ That in the above Engage-
 ment the *Dutch* Admiral *Van Tromp* was kill’d by a

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Musket-Shot in the Left Breast^k; with several Captains and a vast Number of Sailors; and that the *English* had taken about 1000 Prisoners, besides the Vice-Admiral of *Zealand* and many Officers, with the Loss of only 250 Men, and about 700 wounded, amongst which were 12 Captains.'

After reading these Letters the House gave Orders for taking Care of Necessaries for the Relief of the sick and maimed Seamen and Soldiers: They also resolved That a convenient House should be provided in or near *Dover*, *Deal*, or *Sandwich*, for their Accommodation: That one Moiety of all the Hospitals for Sick throughout *England* be reserved for the Service of the Navy; and that Provision be made for the Wives and Children of the Captains and Sailors slain in this Engagement; who were also to be admitted to make Probate of their Husbands and Fathers Wills without Payment of any Fees.

Aug. 4. The following Petition was this Day presented to the House by some Justices of Peace of the County of *Kent*:

To the PARLIAMENT of the COMMONWEALTH of ENGLAND.

A Petition from the County of *Kent*, for abolishing of Tythes.

‘ **A** Lthough the Kings of the Earth have been unwilling that the Anointed *Jesus* should reign, yet the Observation of the Outgoings of the Most High, in these latter Days, causeth your Petitioners to believe that the Day of the Accomplishment of the Promises on the Behalf of the Sun of Righteousness is dawned, if not approached very near its Noon; who is weary always to behold the Burdens on the Backs, the Yokes on the Necks, and to hear the
‘ Groans

^k The States General not only caused the Corpse of *Van Tromp* to be interr'd in the most solemn Manner at *Delft*, but also order'd a Medal to be struck in Honour of his Memory. In the Front the Admiral's Bust; on the Reverse, a Representation of a Sea Fight; with this Inscription in *Dutch*, MARTIN HARPERTZ TROMP, *Kt. Vice-Admiral of Holland, died for his Country, Aug. 10, 1653.*

Affaire Metallique de Holland, par Bizet, Tome II. p. 225.

'Groans and Cries from the Mouths of his People;
 'wherefore he hath poured forth a Spirit, which
 'hath encountered and vanquished our open Op-
 'pressors, and poured Contempt upon those who
 'would be but partial Deliverers; the Sun of whose
 'Power set at Noon, because it ripened not the
 'Desires and Petitions of God's People by a fa-
 'vourable Influence, but suffered their Hopes to
 'blast, after so many Promises and Protestations,
 'and so much Expence of Treasure and Blood.
 'The same God who hath pulled them down hath
 'set you up; but not to rule for yourselves, but for
 'the People of God; not to seek your own, but
 'the Honour of *Christ*: And we can do no less
 'than hope and pray, That the Spirit of the Lord
 'may fall down upon you, and teach you to rule
 'after the Heart of *Christ*, to whom we make bold
 'to make this humble Address; not to interrupt
 'your weighty Affairs, or misdoubting your Wis-
 'dom and Faithfulness; but only to shew how our
 'Hearts own you as our Parliament; and to con-
 'fess that we dare not neglect our Assistance to the
 'great Work of the Lord, though it be but in be-
 'ing your Remembrancers of what you have pro-
 'posed to us of your Desires, in your late Declara-
 'tion, to the breaking of all our Yokes, and re-
 'moving all our Burdens, at which our Souls joy.
 'And to keep warm the Breathing of that Spirit,
 'we humbly crave Leave to spread before you one
 'grand Burden, under which we have groaned
 'till our Hearts ach; humbly desiring,

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'That Tythes of all Sorts, Root and Branch,
 'may be abolished; that that *Jewish* and *Anti-*
 '*christian* Bondage and Burden on the Estates and
 'Consciences of the Godly may cease; and that
 'we may not be insnar'd with forced Maintenance,
 'or any Thing like it in the Stead thereof.

'And your Petitioners shall own the Lord in
 'you, and bless the Lord for you; and pray, hope,
 'and wait to see your Hands stretched out for the
 'Lord, till you shall help to tear the Flesh of the
 'Whore, and burn her with Fire.'

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The Petitioners being called in again, the Speaker, by Command of the House, returned them this Answer :

Gentlemen,

THE House doth take Notice of your good Affection to the Parliament; and hath commanded me to tell you, That the Business in your Petition is and shall be, in due Time, under Consideration; and that the House will do therein as the Lord shall direct them.

The Court of
Chancery voted
down.

Aug. 5. This Day the House took into Consideration the Business of the High Court of Chancery, and resolved that the same be forthwith taken away; and a Bill was ordered to be brought in for that Purpose, by the Committee of the Law. It was referred also to that Committee, to consider how the Causes now depending in Chancery might be determined; and likewise a Provision made for the deciding Matters of Equity for the future, and putting in Order other Matters of Law, within the Jurisdiction of that Court.

Mr. *Whitlocke*, who was at this Time one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, writes, ‘That the Debate upon the Motion for putting down the Court of Chancery held most Part of two Days:’ But neither this Memorialist, nor any other Historian that we know of, gives us any of the Arguments offered on that Subject. We shall therefore endeavour to supply the Deficiency from an anonymous Member of this Parliament, who published a short Abstract of their Proceedings^s. This Gentleman informs us, ‘That in the Course of the Debate the Court of Chancery was called, by some Members, the greatest Grievance in the Nation: Others said, That for Dilatoriness, Chargeableness, and a Faculty of bleeding the People in the Purse-Vein, even to their utter Perishing and Undoing, that Court might compare with, if not surpass, any Court in the World: That it was confidently affirmed by knowing Gentlemen, of Worth, that

^s *An exact Relation, &c.* before cited.

there

there were depending in that Court Twenty-three Thousand Causes, some of which had been there depending five, some ten, some twenty, some thirty Years, and more: That there had been spent therein many Thousands of Pounds, to the Ruin, nay utter Undoing, of many Families: That no Ship almost that sailed in the Sea of the Law, but first or last put into that Port; and, if they made any considerable Stay there, they suffered so much Loss, that the Remedy was as bad as the Disease: That what was ordered one Day was contradicted the next, so as in some Causes there had been five hundred Orders and more. That when the Purses of the Clients began to be empty, and their Spirits were a little cooled, then, by a Reference to some Gentlemen in the Country, the Cause so long depending, at so great a Charge, came to be ended; so that some Members did not stick to term the Chancery a Mystery of Wickedness, and a standing Cheat. And that, in short, so many horrible Things were affirm'd of it, that those who were, or had a Mind to be, Advocates for it, had little to say on the Behalf of it; and so at the End of one Day's Debate, the Question being put, it was voted down.'—This Unanimity of the House seems confirm'd by the *Journals*, for it appears by those Authorities, that the Resolution for abolishing the Court of Chancery passed without any Division of the House.

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There were also printed at this Time, and delivered to the Members, two Papers, which seem to have greatly contributed to hasten the foregoing Vote: These we shall therefore give from the original Editions in our *Collections*^h. And first,

OBSERVATIONS concerning the Court of CHANCERY, presented to the Parliament.

- I. 'IF we look back into antient Times, we shall find the Business of the Chancery to be but little, and the Officers and Clerks but few; namely, a Chief Clerk, who was Master of the Rolls; three

^h Printed by R. Ibbetson, and licensed according to the late Act.

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‘ three Attornies or writing Clerks, who dispatch-
 ‘ ed the Business now done in the Six-Clerks Of-
 ‘ fice; one Register, and one Examiner; all which,
 ‘ except the Chief Clerk, were writing Clerks, for
 ‘ Dispatch of the Business of the Court, and taking
 ‘ Care of Clients Causes; and for such their Care
 ‘ and Pains they received all the Fees which the
 ‘ Clients paid, except only what was due to the
 ‘ Master of the Rolls; which Fees then paid, al-
 ‘ though the Certainty of them is not known, yet
 ‘ it is more than probable the same were not so
 ‘ great as now are taken; but then, the Labourer
 ‘ receiving his full Wages, the Business was well
 ‘ and soon dispatched, and the Records well kept.

2. ‘ It is observed that as the Business of the
 ‘ Court increased, the Attornies increased to the
 ‘ Number of six, and the Examiners to the Num-
 ‘ ber of two, and so kept themselves at that Num-
 ‘ ber; and as the Business farther increased, the
 ‘ Attornies, Examiners, and Register, by the Con-
 ‘ sent of the several Masters of the Rolls, from
 ‘ Time to Time increased their Clerks, and cast
 ‘ all the Care, Pains, and Burden of Causes, and
 ‘ all Disbursements for Clients, upon their Clerks;
 ‘ and they wholly withdrew themselves from the
 ‘ Duty of their Places, and became overseeing Of-
 ‘ ficers, and not writing Clerks, according to their
 ‘ primitive Constitution; and then their only Care
 ‘ was to contrive Rules and Methods of Practice,
 ‘ with many tedious and unnecessary Formalities,
 ‘ in such Manner as that no Business might pass by
 ‘ them undiscovered, nor any Fees unpaid; and
 ‘ this occasioned great Expence to the Clients, and
 ‘ much more Pains to the Under-Clerks than was
 ‘ necessary.

3. ‘ It may be observed that, notwithstanding
 ‘ such Rules of Practice prescribed by the Six Clerks,
 ‘ yet the labouring Clerks of that Office (to whose
 ‘ Care only the Clients commit their Causes, and
 ‘ depend upon them for the Management thereof)
 ‘ do often conceal the Business, and the Fees due
 ‘ for the same from the Six Clerks, and satisfy
 ‘ them-

‘ themselves touching the Lawfulness thereof, as
 ‘ well in regard they often disburse Money for their
 ‘ Clients to the Six Clerks, which they never re-
 ‘ ceive again; as also for that the whole Care and
 ‘ Burden lies upon them, and not upon the Six
 ‘ Clerks (they being indeed the true and lawful
 ‘ Attornies of the Court to all Intents and Purposes,
 ‘ and in all Respects, except in Name only): But
 ‘ by reason of these Concealments of Business and
 ‘ Fees, the Causes are not proceeded in, and pro-
 ‘ secuted in that formal and regular Way of Prac-
 ‘ tice which is directed by the Six Clerks; and as
 ‘ often as it is discovered the Clerk suffers Disgrace,
 ‘ and the Clients much Delay and Damage: And
 ‘ this is the most common and greatest Grievance
 ‘ before the hearing of Causes.

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4. ‘ Also it is to be observed, that there are the
 ‘ like Inconveniences in the Registers Office and
 ‘ the Examiners Office, by reason the Masters of
 ‘ the same several Offices receive almost all the
 ‘ Fees due from the Clients, and leave their Clerks
 ‘ to receive Expedition-Money, and other unjust
 ‘ Rewards, from the Clients, without which they
 ‘ could not subsist. And as for the Subpœna Of-
 ‘ fice and Affidavit Office, being monopolized but
 ‘ in King *James’s* Time, there is no Use at all of
 ‘ them; nor were they erected for any other End
 ‘ but to put the Clients to unnecessary Expences
 ‘ and Delays, and the practising Clerks to needless
 ‘ Trouble.

5. ‘ It is very evident and manifest that all the
 ‘ Mischiefs and Inconveniences, before-mentioned,
 ‘ came to pass thus: In respect the several Masters
 ‘ of the Rolls for the Time being (as Chief Clerks
 ‘ of that Court) having the Nomination of the Six
 ‘ Clerks, Examiners, and Register, found it more
 ‘ profitable to continue them at that small Num-
 ‘ ber, and sell their Offices for great Sums of Mo-
 ‘ ney to Men altogether ignorant of the Practice
 ‘ of the Court, than to admit deserving Men *gra-*
 ‘ *tis*, as by the Duty of these Places they ought to
 ‘ have

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‘ have done; and, as the Business increased; to
 ‘ have increased able and honest working Attor-
 ‘ nies, as the Judges of other Courts of Justice
 ‘ did.

6. ‘ There are Inconveniences in the Prosecu-
 ‘ tion of Causes which concern Clients; as, name-
 ‘ ly, When Defendants will willingly stand out all
 ‘ Process of Contempt, (which, according to the
 ‘ Rules prescribed by the Six Clerks, requires a
 ‘ Year’s Time to prosecute) and then pay 40 s.
 ‘ Costs, and make an insufficient Answer; and,
 ‘ that being over-ruled, stand out all Process of
 ‘ Contempt as at first, and then make a second
 ‘ insufficient Answer, and so a third and fourth;
 ‘ so that sometimes Defendants cannot be com-
 ‘ pelled to make perfect Answers in two or three
 ‘ Years: And sometimes Plaintiffs likewise prefer
 ‘ vexatious Suits against Defendants, and keep
 ‘ them long in Suspence without any effectual Pro-
 ‘ secution: But this, although fit to be rectified, is
 ‘ not altogether so mischievous as the former.

7. ‘ Many other Inconveniences may be obser-
 ‘ ved at and after the hearing of Causes, more pre-
 ‘ judicial to Clients than the former; for it may
 ‘ be observed (besides the many impertinent and
 ‘ unnecessary Orders made in Causes, pending the
 ‘ Suit) that Causes of late Times are heard not
 ‘ only once or twice, but five or six Times, by rea-
 ‘ son of which often Attendance, and the Great-
 ‘ ness of Counsels Fees, (which are fit to be mo-
 ‘ derated) Clients are put to a very great and vast
 ‘ Expence; and the Orders many Times are so
 ‘ weakly and uncertainly pronounced, that none
 ‘ that hear them know what they are; and there-
 ‘ upon the Registers take the Liberty to draw what
 ‘ they please; and the Weaknesses of the Judges
 ‘ do often occasion needless References to Masters
 ‘ of the Court, where there are many Times very
 ‘ unfair Proceedings.

8. ‘ For it is most notoriously known that the
 ‘ Masters of the Court, although there be no Fee
 ‘ due

‘ due to them from the Client, yet they, most of
 ‘ them, are very much guilty of taking unjust Fees
 ‘ and Rewards, tending very much to the Wrong
 ‘ and Prejudice of Clients : And the Deputy-Re-
 ‘ gisters are likewise too much guilty of this Crime.
 ‘ 9. ‘ And lastly it is observed, that after Decrees
 ‘ are past, there is a tedious Prosecution on the
 ‘ Plaintiff’s Part before he can have the Benefit
 ‘ thereof ; by reason whereof he often loseth all
 ‘ his Labour and Charge, and never reaps the
 ‘ Fruit of the Decree.’

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PROPOSALS tendered to the Parliament, for the Regulation or taking away of the Court of CHANCERY, and settling Business of Equity according to the original and primitive Constitution of it ; and for taking away all unnecessary Fees, Offices and Officers, and Formalities now used, and for the speedy Dispatch of Business.

1. ‘ **T**HAT the Court as it is now used, or
 ‘ rather abused, be wholly taken away ;
 ‘ and that some of the most able and honest Men
 ‘ may be appointed for keeping of the Great
 ‘ Seal, and authorized to examine, hear, and de-
 ‘ termine all Causes of Equity ; and impowered to
 ‘ put in Execution their Judgments and Decrees in
 ‘ the same Manner, and with the same Expedition,
 ‘ as Judgments at Common Law are : For as long
 ‘ as the Bar is more able than the Bench, as of
 ‘ late it hath been, the Business of the Court can
 ‘ never be well dispatched (and former Times have
 ‘ thought the most able Men but fit for this Em-
 ‘ ployment) ; and that the Judges of the Court may
 ‘ have Power likewise to punish Perjury committed
 ‘ in the same Court.

2. ‘ That instead of the Six Clerks, Chief Re-
 ‘ gister, and Two Examiners, so many godly, able,
 ‘ honest, and experienced Clerks may be admitted
 ‘ in their Rooms, as may be able, with their own
 ‘ Hands, to write and do the Business of the Court ;
 ‘ and which may be working Attornies and Clerks,
 ‘ and

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‘ and not overseeing Officers ; that is to say, Six
 ‘ Clerks in the Registers Office, Eight Clerks in
 ‘ the Examiners Office, and Sixty Attornies or
 ‘ Clerks for doing the Business now done in the
 ‘ Six-Clerks Office ; and that all these Clerks may
 ‘ receive a Moiety of the Fees now taken, and no
 ‘ more, save only the 3*s.* 4*d.* for the Attornies
 ‘ termly Fee, which may continue as formerly.

3. ‘ That the Sixty Attornies do elect two of
 ‘ the most able and experienced Men in the Business
 ‘ of the Court, and to be approved of by the Com-
 ‘ missioners for the Great Seal, to be Chief Clerks,
 ‘ to attend daily in Court, to satisfy the Court in any
 ‘ Thing touching the Practice of the Court, and
 ‘ to do such other Services as the Court shall di-
 ‘ rect ; as also to look to the due Ordering and Fi-
 ‘ ling of the Records, and to receive for their Pains
 ‘ a termly Allowance from the Practising Clerks,
 ‘ not exceeding 200*l.* *per Annum* a-piece ; and not
 ‘ to receive any Fees from Clients, for, if so, then
 ‘ the same Mischief will follow as formerly hath
 ‘ done.

4. ‘ That a certain Number of godly and able
 ‘ Men be appointed, instead of Masters of the Court,
 ‘ to take Oaths, and to hear and determine Mat-
 ‘ ters of Account, and such other Things as the
 ‘ Court shall refer unto them ; who shall sit, exa-
 ‘ mine, and certify the same in Order as they are
 ‘ brought before them, and shall have a constant
 ‘ Register to attend them ; and no Report to be
 ‘ made, but by two of them at least.


5. ‘ That the Attornies of the Court be not
 ‘ only permitted, but enjoined to make Motions
 ‘ for their Clients for any Thing concerning the
 ‘ Practice and Course of the Court, as is now used
 ‘ in other Courts of Justice. (as hath been formerly
 ‘ used in the Chancery) for which they are to re-
 ‘ ceive no Fee, but content themselves with their
 ‘ termly Fee of 3*s.* 4*d.* and the Court to appoint
 ‘ convenient Times for hearing such Motions.

6. ‘ That a certain Number of able and godly
 ‘ Men be appointed to peruse and allow of all Bills
 ‘ be-

‘ before they be filed; for which they shall receive
 ‘ for every Bill , for preventing of many
 ‘ vexatious Suits, and Suits altogether improper for
 ‘ the Jurisdiction of the Court; and that no Attor-
 ‘ ney make out any Summons untill the Bill be so
 ‘ perused, allowed of, and filed.

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7. ‘ That upon every Hearing of a Cause, or
 ‘ other Order touching the Merits of a Cause, after
 ‘ the Court hath pronounced their Order, the Re-
 ‘ gister to read the same with an audible Voice,
 ‘ not only the Substance but the very Words of the
 ‘ Order, for avoiding all Mistakes in drawing
 ‘ of Orders.

‘ These are humbly conceived to be fit Propo-
 ‘ sals in relation to the Constitution of a Court
 ‘ of Equity, whereby to bring it to its original
 ‘ Purity.

‘ As to the Practical Part of the Court: It is
 ‘ conceived requisite that Rules of fit Practice
 ‘ should be framed by the Attornies of the Court,
 ‘ so to be allowed of as aforesaid, and the same
 ‘ presented to the Chief Clerk; and they to peruse
 ‘ and amend the same, and then present them to
 ‘ the Keepers of the Great Seal for their Appro-
 ‘ bation thereof; whereby all vexatious Plaintiffs
 ‘ and wilful Contemnors may receive condign Pu-
 ‘ nishment by Payment of Costs, as also by Fines,
 ‘ Sequestrations, and otherwise, according to their
 ‘ Demerits; and whereby all needless Formalities
 ‘ and Delays in the proceeding of Causes may be
 ‘ taken away, and all expeditious Ways and Means
 ‘ used for the expediting of Causes, and the Ease
 ‘ of Clients: And it is not to be doubted but such
 ‘ Rules of Practice may be framed, as that no
 ‘ Cause shall depend above a Year (but generally
 ‘ not so long) before it be ready for hearing; and
 ‘ the whole Charge of the Proceedings not to ex-
 ‘ ceed ordinarily above 40 or 50s.

‘ But the particular Rules of Practice are not
 ‘ herein expressed, for that it is conceiv’d impossible
 ‘ to prescribe and limit all Rules of Practice by Act
 ‘ of Parliament, but the same will be very prejudicial

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‘ to the People: For if the Rules of Practice should
 ‘ be enacted, then cannot the Judges of the Court
 ‘ dispense with the Letter of the same Rule, tho’
 ‘ it be in a Case of Sicknes, Death, or other like
 ‘ Cases of the greatest Extremity.

‘ Yet as to the Judicial Part of the Court, it
 ‘ were to be wish’d that a certain Time was limit-
 ‘ ed for Mortgagers to redẽem their Lands; and if
 ‘ likewise some Limitation of Time was put to
 ‘ other Suits, whereby Things might be brought
 ‘ to as great a Certainty as could be possible.

‘ It is conceived very fit likewise that a Table of
 ‘ Fees should be allowed of by the Commissioners
 ‘ or Keepers of the Great Seal, and afterwards
 ‘ confirmed by Act of Parliament, and a Penalty
 ‘ imposed upon every Man that shall exceed them.’

But all these Schemes for Reformation of the
 Law proved ineffectual, the Reason of which will
 appear hereafter.

The Parliament
 reward the Offi-
 cers concern’d in
 the late Engage-
 ment with the
Dutch.

Aug. 8. A Report was made to the House from
 the Council of State, That it was their Opinion
 two Gold Chains, of 300*l.* Value each, should be
 made and given to the Admirals *Moncke* and *Blake*,
 as a Mark of Favour from the Parliament, and a
 Token of the good Acceptance of their eminent
 Services against the *Dutch*; two more Chains of
 100*l.* Value to Vice-Admiral *Penn* and Rear-Ad-
 miral *Lawson*; and the four Flag-Officers to have
 each a Chain of 40*l.* Value: Also 1040*l.* in Me-
 dals, to be given amongst the other Officers of the
 Fleet, as a Mark of the Parliament’s Favour to
 them for their several Services. All which Parti-
 culars were confirmed by the House.

A Day was also appointed for giving Thanks to
 Almighty God, for his Mercy in the late Successes
 vouchsafed to the Navy of this Commonwealth
 against the *Dutch*. And a *Declaration* was ordered
 to be set forth, to invite the People of God in this
 Nation to join in the Observation thereof; which
 was in hæc Verba:

' **I**T having pleased the Lord, after those many
 ' signal Tokens of his Presence with his People
 ' in this Nation, in the several Straits and Changes
 ' through which he hath, by a mighty Hand and
 ' out-stretched Arm, led them hitherto, yet again
 ' to manifest his wonted Power and Goodness to
 ' them in that late and great Success of our Fleet
 ' at Sea; when it pleased the Lord, at the End of
 ' *July* last, so to bless the Forces of this Common-
 ' wealth engaged by the *Dutch*, (who, by Advan-
 ' tages not a few, to human Appearance, were
 ' likely to have prevailed) as that, after a most sharp
 ' and doubtful Encounter, he crowned us with
 ' Victory, and made our Enemies to feel the Stroke
 ' of his righteous Hand against them; who have
 ' abundantly manifested it to be in their Intentions
 ' to have made us (wearied by a long intestine War)
 ' a Spoil to their Avarice and Ambition, by their
 ' first unjust Invasion of us, and their earnest pro-
 ' secuting since of a War against us, notwithstand-
 ' ing, all the Endeavours used on our Part to com-
 ' pose so sad, and to us so unwelcome, a Breach
 ' between the two Nations: We being desirous
 ' to be deeply sensible hereof before the Lord; and
 ' bearing also in Mind what Cause we have, at all
 ' Times, to make Mention of his Name in this
 ' Nation with all humble and thankful Acknow-
 ' ledgements, but especially when he hath thus
 ' seasonably made bare his Holy Arm in this late
 ' Mercy, before the Eyes of all the Nations round
 ' about us, have thought it requisite at a particular
 ' Time, and in an especial Manner, to acknow-
 ' ledge the Hand and Goodness of our God to us
 ' in this great Work which he hath wrought for
 ' us; and we have therefore set a-part *Thursday*
 ' the 25th of this present *August*, for the End a-
 ' fore said. And in regard the Mercy is general,
 ' and we hope will be of great Advantage to this
 ' whole Commonwealth, and to all that fear God
 ' in it, we do earnestly desire them to contribute
 ' their Help in this great Work of Thankfulness
 ' to the Lord, and to suffer us to call upon them,

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A Declaration
 for a public
 Thanksgiving on
 that Occasion.

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‘ to sing, together with us, unto the Lord a new
 ‘ Song, *He hath dealt bountifully with us, for his*
 ‘ *Mercy endureth for ever*: And that, as the Lord
 ‘ shall move and direct them, they would seriously
 ‘ set themselves in his Presence, and praise him to-
 ‘ gether with us; so that we may all, with one
 ‘ Heart and Voice, offer up a free Sacrifice of
 ‘ Prayer and of Praise, and all of us endeavour;
 ‘ in our several Stations, to improve so great a De-
 ‘ liverance to the alone Glory of our great God,
 ‘ and the Good of his People throughout the
 ‘ World.’

Designs on foot
 in Favour of the
 King.

The Council of State had been alarmed with daily Intelligence of many Designs on foot in behalf of *Charles Stuart*; and that several considerable Persons were concerned therein, some of whom were ordered to be apprehended. A Report of this being made to the House on the 10th of this Month, they ordered an Act to be brought in for erecting another High Court of Justice, for Trial of Offenders against the Commonwealth.

This Day also the Council of State sent to the House a Paper, called *A Breviate of the Proposals made to them by the Commissioners from Scotland*; which was read as follows:

Proposals made
 to the House, by
 Commissioners
 from Scotland.

1. ‘ That the Cels upon *Scotland*, which now exceeds the fourth Part of the Rent, may be abated, and brought to a constant and competent Proportion with *England*.

2. ‘ That Commissions for Courts of Justice might be issued to Men of Conscience, and Abilities to judge according to the Law and Practice of that Nation; and that the Judicatories might be of that same Number as formerly, to be nominated by Advice and Consent of the Nation, conformably to Acts of Parliament.

3. ‘ That Sequestrations and Confiscations might be taken off; and that the Interest of *Scottishmen* in *England* and *Ireland* might be preserved, as was intended by the Bill of Oblivion: And
 ‘ that

‘ that Course might be taken for the Creditors and
‘ Cautioners of sequestrated Persons, who other-
‘ wise will presently be ruined inevitably.

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4. ‘ That those who had formerly Rights from
‘ Kings may be continued in their Possessions till
‘ their Right be discussed before the Judgeordi-
‘ nary: And that Course may be taken for Pay-
‘ ment of Debts contracted by the King before
‘ these late Troubles.

5. ‘ That those who had obtained Conveyances
‘ and Possession from Persons who thereafter fell
‘ into Delinquency, may enjoy their Rights.

6. ‘ That Prisoners be released.

7. ‘ That the Mint in *Scotland* may be set
‘ up, as the only present Remedy against the ex-
‘ treme Scarcity of Money there.

8. ‘ That those who are engaged for Money
‘ expended upon the Public Account of the Na-
‘ tion, or have paid the same, may be relieved and
‘ indemnified.

9. ‘ That Customs and Impositions between
‘ *England* and *Scotland* may be taken off all Goods
‘ imported and exported betwixt the Nations.

‘ It was also humbly desired that some effective
‘ Course might be taken for Payment of the said
‘ Commissioners Salaries.’

After reading these Proposals, the House referr’d Complaint made
it to the Council of State to take Care for the Pay- to the House of
ment of the Salaries of the Commissioners from the Extortions
Scotland, in order to their Dismission. And the and Oppressions
of Goalers, &c.,
Debate on the rest of these Proposals was deferr’d
to the 12th Instant, but we hear no more of them;
so that it is probable the *Scots* Commissioners were
sent away without any further Satisfaction given
them in their Demands.

Aug. 17. Mr. *Anlaby* reported, from the Com-
mittee for Prisons and Prisoners, a Charge against
Sir *John Lenthall*, Marshal and Keeper of the
Upper-Bench Prison, for sundry Neglects and
Abuses of his Office; also for Extortion, Oppres-

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sion, and barbarous Usage of his Prisoners, even to the murdering, starving, and poisoning some of them. It was likewise alledged against him, That he had held a secret Intelligence and Correspondence with the late King at *Oxford*, and sent him Men, Money, Horses, and Arms. All these Offences were referred back to the same Committee, who were authoriz'd to hear what Defence Sir *John Lenthall* had to make.

Several public-spirited Proposals were also reported to the House, for redressing of Abuses in all the Prisons throughout the Kingdom; for discharging such Prisoners as were unable to pay; and compelling such as were able, but chose to live upon their Estates in Confinement, in order to defraud their Creditors. All which are particulariz'd in the *Journals*.

The next Day this Charge against Sir *John Lenthall* was followed by a Petition presented to the House, *in hæc Verba*:

*To the PARLIAMENT of the COMMONWEALTH
of ENGLAND,*

The HUMBLE PETITION of all the PRISONERS for DEBT within the severall (both National and Private) tyrannical Dens of Cruelty, called Prisons, Goals, Counters, Holes, and Dungeons in this Land,

Humbly sheweth,

And a Petition
from Insolvent
Debtors.

‘ **T**HAT this Nation hath, for these many
‘ Years, expected to reap the desired Fruits
‘ of their Labours, and the late Parliament’s Pro-
‘ mises, viz. their just Liberties: But the chiefeſt
‘ Study of the said self-seeking Parliament hath
‘ been how, by fair Speeches, to lull this Nation
‘ asleep in the Cradle of Security, and to impower
‘ themselves to Perpetuity; but the Lord hath turn-
‘ ed this their worldly Policy into Folly, Shame,
‘ and Confusion to themselves; (whose Memo-
riat

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‘ morial will so remain to Posterity) by stirring up
‘ the Hearts of his Excellency and those noble
‘ Worthies, that thus suddenly and peaceably dis-
‘ armed them; and, in their Christian Zeal to
‘ this their Country’s Welfare, have chosen and
‘ called you, as the Lord’s faithful ones, to the
‘ same Place, but for the better Work, even the
‘ Work of Righteousness, in Judgment, Justice,
‘ and Mercy, (without Respect of Persons) and
‘ for the Restoration of our Fundamental Laws,
‘ Rights, and Liberties.

‘ In Assurance of your speedy Accomplishment of
‘ this so great good Work, to God’s Glory, your
‘ Country’s Happiness, and your own eternal Fame
‘ to Posterity, we are encouraged to shew, though
‘ not unknown unto you, that the Law of God
‘ is a Law of Mercy, Peace, and Preservation to
‘ the People, and not of Strife, Rigor, and De-
‘ struction, as it is at this present Time, in and by
‘ the chargeable, dilatory, and deceitful Practice
‘ thereof; witness the numerous Actions charged
‘ on Men; vexatious and chargeable Arrests, and
‘ dragging of Men and Women like Dogs into
‘ Holes and Dungeons; false and endless Imprison-
‘ ment; the frequent Commitments to Prison, by
‘ the Judges and Justices, upon trivial Matters; un-
‘ just Decrees; false Reports of Masters in Chan-
‘ cery; illegal Outlawries; Delay of Justice; and,
‘ by the extraordinary Charges in Law and Pro-
‘ traction of Time, dishearten honest Men from
‘ suing for their just Debts and Rights; together
‘ also with the most cruel Usage and unreasonable
‘ Exactions of Bailiffs, Serjeants, and Goalers,
‘ to the utter Ruin and Destruction of thousands
‘ of Families in the Land; so as now, by the dia-
‘ bolically invented Practices of the Judges and
‘ Lawyers, the Law is become sharper than a two-
‘ edged Sword, dividing the Life from the Body;
‘ working an endless Separation between a Man
‘ and his Wife, Children, and Friends; Depriva-
‘ tion of Liberty and Calling, and a total Ruin of
‘ Estate, to the great Prejudice of this Common-
‘ wealth

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‘ wealth in general ; but to the Satisfaction of
 ‘ cruel revengeful Persons, and Inrichment of
 ‘ Lawyers and their Dependents in particular.

‘ That all private Prisons are more noisome and
 ‘ chargeable than many national Prisons are ; wit-
 ‘ ness the Lord *Cleveland*’s Prison, within his Roy-
 ‘ alty in *White-Chapel*, where the Steward and
 ‘ Bailiff are Accusers, Judges, and Executioners,
 ‘ by their illegal Royal Warrants daily issued forth,
 ‘ for arresting, imprisoning, and condemning of
 ‘ poor Men and Women, in their illegal Courts.
 ‘ kept every three Weeks there :

‘ That notwithstanding the Head of Royalty is
 ‘ cut off, yet these Branches of Tyranny are still
 ‘ suffered to grow and bear the poisonous Fruit of
 ‘ Destruction, contrary to the Freedom and Deli-
 ‘ verance promised :

‘ That Restraint of Men and Women’s Persons
 ‘ in Goal pays no Debts ; but defrauds the Credi-
 ‘ tor, feeds the Lawyers and Goalers, and mur-
 ‘ ders the Debtors ; witness the many Thousands
 ‘ that have thus perished miserably, as the Goal-
 ‘ ers Books, Coroners Records, and Committory
 ‘ Rolls do testify :

‘ That Imprisonment for Debt is contrary to the
 ‘ Law of God, to Reason, Justice, and Charity,
 ‘ and to the Law of this Land, as appeareth by se-
 ‘ veral Statutes.

‘ The Premises piously considered, your poor,
 ‘ still enslaved, Brethren therefore humbly pray,

‘ That you may speedily break off this cruel
 ‘ sinful Yoke, by the powerful Rule of Righteous-
 ‘ ness, Justice, and Mercy : That there may be
 ‘ no more Arresting nor Imprisonment for Debt ;
 ‘ but that, according to the antient laudable Way
 ‘ of Citations, all able Debtors may be, in some
 ‘ short Time, enforced to satisfy their Creditors
 ‘ out of the two Third Parts of their Estates, either
 ‘ in Lands or Goods, the other Third Part to be re-
 ‘ served to themselves for their Support and Educa-
 ‘ tion of their Children : And, lastly, that you
 ‘ would be pleased to stand up in the Strength of
 ‘ the

‘ the Lord, like zealous *Nehemiah*, for the Regain-
 ‘ ment of this Nation’s Liberty, by abolishing the
 ‘ *Capias*, demolishing all Dens of Cruelty, and
 ‘ setting all us, the Enslaved, free:

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‘ That so not only we, our Wives, Children,
 ‘ and Friends, but this whole Nation, may have
 ‘ just Cause to bless God for you, and to eternize
 ‘ your Names to Posterity, as of their faithful De-
 ‘ liverers from this *Egyptian* Thralldom and Mi-
 ‘ fery; for the speedy Accomplishment whereof,
 ‘ your Petitioners and this whole Nation do daily
 ‘ pray, &c.’

In consequence of all this the House ordered a Bill to be brought in, for the Relief of Creditors and Poor Prisoners. A Bill ordered in thereupon.

Aug. 19. This Day the Parliament took into Consideration the State of the Laws of this Nation in general; and resolved, That a Committee be appointed to consider of a new Body of the Law.

Aug. 22. A Call of the House was made with great Strictness; the Absenters were mark’d with an *A*, those present with a *P*. Such Members who were absent, without Leave, were ordered to attend the Service of the House on that Day Fort-
 night, and give an Account of their Absence. A Call of the House.

About the Middle of this Month *Col. John Lilburne* was brought to a second Trial at Law; and, after a long Hearing, was acquitted by his Jury, but ordered back to *Newgate*. Upon his Acquittal Medals were struck, with his Head on one Side, and the Names of all his Jury on the Reverse, which are yet to be seen in the Cabinets of the Curious. But the Parliament was so provoked at *Lilburne*’s Acquittal, that they ordered the Council of State to examine the whole Business of the Trial; particularly the Judges and Jury upon it. Likewise to examine touching any scandalous, seditious, or tumultuous Papers which were dispers’d,

Their severe Proceedings against
Col. Lilburne.

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or Words spoken, at the said Trial, in relation to, and in Derogation of, the Authority of Parliament, and report the same to the House.—It was also referred to the said Council to revise the Acts declaring what Offences shall be Treason; and to bring in an Act for Supply of such Things as the other comes short of, in reference to this present Parliament and Council of State. According to this Order, a few Days after, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* reported from the Council of State, that they had examined into the Proceedings on the late Trial of Col. *Lilburne*; and that the Clerks attending there had returned several scandalous and seditious Speeches, spoken by the said *Lilburne* at his Trial, which they took in Short Hand, an Extract of which was read; whereupon the House committed *Lilburne* to the *Tower*; and the Lieutenant was enjoined to detain him there, notwithstanding any *Habeas Corpus* to be granted by the Upper Bench, or any other Court of Justice, till the Parliament should give farther Order.—So great a Dread had they of this Man's Popularity, who, from his invincible Zeal in opposing the Arbitrary Proceedings of Men in Power, under every Change of Government, was at this Time distinguished by the Name of *Freeborn John*.

Great Part of this Month had been taken up in canvassing a Bill concerning Marriages, and the registering thereof, and also of Births and Burials: On the 25th it passed the House on the Question, and was order'd to be printed and published.

This extraordinary Act, which entirely took Marriages out of the Hands of the Clergy, and put it into those of the Justices of Peace, well deserves our Notice; we shall therefore give an Abstract of the most material Clauses thereof.

An Act pass'd
relating to Mar-
riages.

Hereby it was enacted, ' That all Persons in *England* or *Ireland*, intending to be married, should, twenty-one Days at least before, deliver in Writing to the Register appointed by this Act for the

Pa-

Parish where each Party to be married live, with their Names, Surnames, Additions, and Places of Abode, and of their Parents, Guardians, or Overseers; all which the said Register shall publish three several Lord's Days then next following, at the Close of the Morning Exercise, in the Church or Chapel; or, if the Parties to be married desired it, in the Market-Place next adjoining thereto, on three Market-Days, in three several Weeks next following, between the Hours of Eleven and Two; which being done, the Register shall, upon Request of the Parties concerned, make a Certificate of the due Performance thereof, without which such Marriage shall not proceed: And if any Exception be made thereto, the Register shall insert the same, with the Name of the Person making such Exception, and their Place of Abode, in the Certificate of Publication.

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‘ All Persons intending to be married, shall come before some Justice of Peace of the same County, City, or Town Corporate, where Publication hath been made, and bring a Certificate thereof, with Proof of the Consent of their Parents or Guardians, if either of the Parties be under the Age of twenty-one Years: And the Justice shall examine, upon Oath, concerning the Truth of the Certificate, and due Performance of all the Premises, and of any Exception arising; and, if there be no reasonable Cause to the contrary, the Marriage shall proceed in this Manner:

‘ The Man, taking the Woman by the Hand, shall distinctly pronounce these Words, *I A. B. do here in the Presence of God, the Searcher of all Hearts, take thee C. D. for my wedded Wife; and do also in the Presence of God, and before these Witnesses, promise to be unto thee a loving and faithful Husband.*

‘ And then the Woman, taking the Man by the Hand, shall also distinctly pronounce these Words, *I C. D. do here in the Presence of God, the Searcher of all Hearts, take thee A. B. for my wedded Husband; and do also in the Presence of God, and before*

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fore these Witnesses, promise to be unto thee a loving, faithful, and obedient Wife.

‘ The Man and Woman having made sufficient Proof of the Consent of their Parents or Guardians, and expressed their Consent to Marriage, in the Manner and Words aforesaid, before such Justice of Peace, in the Presence of two or more credible Witnesses, he shall declare them to be from thenceforth Husband and Wife; and, after such Consent so expressed, and such Declaration made, the same shall be good and effectual in Law; and no other Form of Marriage shall be accounted valid according to the Laws of *England*: But the Justice of Peace, in case of dumb Persons, may dispense with pronouncing the Words aforesaid; and with joining Hands, in case of Persons that have no Hands.

‘ A Book of Vellum or Parchment shall be provided for the registering of all such Marriages, and of all Births of Children, and Burials of all Sorts of People, within every Parish; for the safe keeping of which, the Inhabitants and Householders chargeable to the Poor, shall make Choice of some able and honest Person, to be approved by one Justice of the Peace of the County, and so signified under his Hand in the said Register-Book, to have the Keeping thereof, who shall therein enter all such Publications, Marriages, Births of Children, and Burials of all Sorts of Persons, and the Names of every of them, and the Days of the Month and Year thereof, and the Parents, Guardians, or Overseers Names: And for such Publications and Certificate, the Register shall be paid 1 s. also 1 s. for the Entry of every Marriage; for every Birth of a Child 4 d. and for every Death 4 d. But for Publications, Marriages, Births, or Burials of poor People, who live upon Alms, nothing shall be taken. And the Justice of Peace, if desired, shall give a Certificate on Parchment, under his Hand and Seal, of such Marriage, and of the Day of the Solemnization thereof, and of two or more of the Witnesses then present, for which his Clerk

‘ to

to receive 1 s. And if such Certificate shall be produced to the Clerk of the Peace for that County, and Request made to him to make an Entry thereof, he shall enter the same in a Book of Parchment to be provided for that Purpose, and kept amongst the Records of the said Sessions, for which he may receive 4 d.

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‘ If any Person shall, by Violence or Fraud, steal or take away any one, under the Age of 21 Years, or cause so to be done, with Intent of Marriage, he shall forfeit his whole Estate, Real and Personal; one Half to the Commonwealth, and the other to the Party so taken away; and farther suffer close Imprisonment, and be kept to hard Labour in some House of Correction during Life: And every Person convicted of aiding or abetting any such Violence or Fraud, shall be imprisoned and kept to hard Labour for the Space of seven Years: And any pretended Marriage obtained by such Violence and Fraud, shall be null and void.

‘ Where any Guardian shall betray his Trust touching any Child, by seducing, selling, or otherwise wilfully putting such Child into the Hands or Power of any Person to marry such Child, without his or her free Consent, such Guardian shall forfeit double the Value of such Child’s Portion, one Moiety thereof to the Commonwealth, and the other to the Child so married.

‘ The Age for a Man to consent unto Marriage shall be 16 Years, and the Age of a Woman, 14.

‘ Controversies touching Contracts and Marriages to be determined at the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace.’

We shall take our Leave of this Act with the Mention of a very remarkable Clause, which was proposed to be added, upon the Third Reading, but pass’d in the Negative. It was this:

‘ That if any Person then married, or to be married according to this Act, should make Proof, by one or more credible Witnesses upon Oath, that either the Husband or Wife had committed the detestable

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testable Sin of Adultery during such Marriage, then the said Parties might be divorced by the Sentence of three Justices of the Peace.'

September. We have before given a Petition from the County of *Kent*, against the Continuance of Tythes. In our *Collections* we have Abundance of Addresses to the House, *pro* and *con*, upon this Subject: But as one of each may be a sufficient Specimen of the whole, we shall begin the Proceedings of this Month with a Petition from the City of *London* in favour of the Clergy, which was ushered in after the following Manner:

The City of *London* present a Petition in favour of the Clergy's Right of Maintenance.

The House being informed that there were divers Aldermen and Citizens of *London* at the Door with a Petition, they were called in; and, being come to the Bar, Mr. Sheriff *Estwick* address'd himself in these Words:

Mr. Speaker,

'THE Lord Mayor of *London*, the Aldermen, and the Commons, in Common-Council assembled, have commanded these worthy Gentlemen and myself to wait upon you in a Business, I think, of as great Concernment as we can possibly propound, in relation to your own Honour, the Good of the City, and the whole Nation.

'We are very sensible, Sir, what a great Mercy of God it hath been to *England*, that the great Trustees of this Nation have been still ready to promote and advance the Gospel for an hundred Years together; and he hath always provided for us pious and learned Men to dispense it, and to defend it against our common Enemies, and blessed their Labours to the Conversion of so many Thousands; which hath made this Nation more eminent than all the Nations round about us.

'Other Nations abroad, they have Civil Laws and Liberties to preserve their Properties: God hath blessed us in a more peculiar Manner than he hath done any others. It was in the Heart of the last Parliament, and we see it in yours, to make it
your

your chief Work to promote Religion in this Nation: We come here upon no other Errand, and shall not meddle with the Particulars of the Petition; but only one Thing we are very sensible of, except the Honour of the Parliament be preserved, we think you will be scarce able to do the great Things before you; and if any People in the Nation shall be suffered, at their Pleasure, to reflect upon the Supreme Power, we think very ill Fruits must follow upon it: We beseech you therefore to consider of your own Honour, to preserve it; and we hope God will stand by you to make good those glorious Things which you have declared for the Good of this Nation: And so, Mr Speaker, I here present the Petition to you, according to the Order and Directions we have received.

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To the Supreme Authority of the Nation, the PARLIAMENT of the COMMONWEALTH of England,

The HUMBLE PETITION of the LORD MAYOR, ALDERMEN, and COMMONS of the City of London, in Common Council assembled,


Sheweth,

‘ **T**HAT your Petitioners do, in all Humility
‘ and Thankfulness, acknowledge the infinite Goodness of God to this Nation, in the free
‘ Passage of the Gospel for near one hundred Years
‘ together, and the Peace, Plenty, and Prosperity
‘ that it hath brought with it; and that all along
‘ God hath raised up pious, learned, and painful
‘ Preachers of the Gospel, whose Labours God
‘ hath blessed in the converting of Thousands, and
‘ defending of the Truth against Popery, Errors,
‘ and Heresies, although very much opposed and
‘ persecuted by a Popish and Prelatical Party.

‘ Your Petitioners do likewise acknowledge, among many worthy Things done by the late Parliament, the tender Care they had of all able, faithful, godly Ministers, in setting them at Liberty from their former Persecutors, and giving them all Encouragement in the Exercise of their
‘ Mi-

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‘ Ministry, and by adding towards their Maintenance a considerable Revenue over and above what was antiently settled by Law. They also encouraged Learning, by reforming the Universities, and increasing the Maintenance of the Governors of Colleges, where there was need. And what a Mercy is it like to prove to the Nation, there being so many hopeful Plants that in a short Time, by the Blessing of God, may be fit for public Service! And while they were thus promoting the Interest of *Christ*, how did the Lord bless their Councils and Forces by Land and by Sea, to the Admiration of their Friends and Enemies, both at Home and Abroad!

‘ But as heretofore there never wanted Instruments to vilify, oppose, persecute, or undermine the faithful Ministers, and preaching of the Gospel; so of late Years, yea at this Day, what Scorn and Contempt is cast upon them, and what Endeavours are used by petitioning, and other Ways, to destroy the Universities, and undermine the Preaching of the Gospel, by taking away that antient settled Maintenance, which hath been own’d and acknowledg’d as their Due, by all Parliaments and Courts of Justice, Time out of Mind? And if the *Jesuits*, and those that are Popishly affected, (of which we have Cause to fear there are many in this Nation) succeed in their present Councils and Practices, in disaffecting the Nation to the Universities and Learning, and the profitable Use of it in the Preaching of the Gospel and confuting of Heresies; and likewise shall prevail in removing the present settled Maintenance, which is earnestly endeavoured by them; and persuade that the Civil Magistrate hath nothing to do in Matters of Religion, they will then be in a very great Forwardness to attain that Design they have had against this Nation, ever since the first Reformation from Popery.

‘ Now though the Consideration of all these Things lies sad on our Hearts, we cannot but, with Thankfulness, acknowledge, That there is

‘ a Su-

‘ a Supreme Power over us, to whom we have En-
 ‘ couragement to make our humble Address; who
 ‘ have been pleased so publickly and affectionately
 ‘ to declare, that you will be as tender of the Lives,
 ‘ Estates, Liberties, just Rights and Properties of
 ‘ all others, as you will be of your own and of
 ‘ your Posterities. And further, That you can-
 ‘ not but acknowledge that ye are not yet at Rest,
 ‘ nor can believe ye have yet enjoyed or seen enough
 ‘ to accomplish the End of God, or satisfy the
 ‘ Thoughts of Men, for that vast Expence of Blood
 ‘ and Treasure, which could not have been endu-
 ‘ red with any Patience, but in Hope that at length
 ‘ those bitter Pangs and Throws will make some
 ‘ Way for that long-expected Birth of Peace,
 ‘ Freedom, and Happiness, both to the Souls and
 ‘ Bodies of the Lord’s People. And while we are
 ‘ patiently waiting for the Fruits of such pious Re-
 ‘ solutions, it cannot but be much Grief of Heart
 ‘ and Regret of Spirit to your Petitioners, to have
 ‘ this Parliament unworthily traduced and reflected
 ‘ upon by some Persons, which we humbly con-
 ‘ ceive doth directly tend to the gratifying of the
 ‘ common Enemy, the raising of Sedition, disturb-
 ‘ ing of the present Government, and Destruction
 ‘ of this Commonwealth. The Premises consi-
 ‘ dered, your Petitioners do humbly pray,

‘ That Care be taken that the precious Truths
 ‘ of the Gospel, which hath been the blessed Por-
 ‘ tion of this Nation so many Years, may be pre-
 ‘ served in their Purity; that the faithful Dispen-
 ‘ sers thereof, being learned, godly, and void of
 ‘ Offence, may receive all due Encouragement;
 ‘ and that such (being so approved) may be sent
 ‘ forth to preach the Gospel; that the settled Main-
 ‘ tenance by the Laws of the Land for them, may
 ‘ be further confirmed; and that the Acts and Or-
 ‘ dinances of Parliament, formerly made to this
 ‘ Purpose, may be put into Execution, and such
 ‘ other Provision made, that their just Properties
 ‘ may be preserved; that the Universities also, that
 ‘ are the Seminaries of all Sorts of Literature, so
 ‘ emi-

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‘eminently useful for this Commonwealth, both
‘in respect of Civil Government, and also the
‘propagating and defending the blessed Truths of
‘the Gospel, may be zealously countenanced and
‘encouraged: All which we humbly submit to
‘your grave and pious Consideration,

And shall ever pray, &c.

The foregoing Petition being read, the House ordered the Speaker to return their Thanks to the Petitioners for their good Affections; to acquaint them that some of the Matters thereof were under Consideration; and as to what concerned the translating of the Parliament, to refer them to give Information thereof to the Council of State, the House not doubting the Continuance of their Care for the Peace and Safety of the City.

The Charge of sustaining the *Dutch War* was very great, and though crowned with all the Advantages above recited, it could not be supported by the Tax of 120,000*l.* a-month, which still laid upon the Public, nor with the Addition of the Customs and Excise then also in being. For,

The Charge of
supporting the
Navy for six
Months.

Sept. 5. A Report was made to the House, from the Commissioners of the Admiralty, That there was requisite to be provided for the Use of the Navy, from the 15th of *July* last to the 31st of *December* next, exclusive of ten Frigates intended to be built, and the Charges of the Winter Service, the Sum of 1,115,000*l.*

Towards which there had been paid in	—	63,570	9	2
That there was then resting in the Ex- cise	} 100,000 0 0			
In the Customs		130,000	0	0
By <i>Dutch Prizes</i>	—	100,000	0	0
By Assessments	—	200,000	0	0
By Collectors Prizes	—	12,924	19	9
So that there was wanting to be provided by the 31st of <i>December</i>	} 508,504 11 1			
		1,115,000	0	0

In order to answer these mighty Demands, the Parliament fell again upon Delinquents and Recufants, and ordered in a Bill for a further Explanation of the Act for the Sale of their Estates; by which two Parts in three were ordered to be sold immediately. Amongst these there is a Case relating to the famous Countefs of *Derby*, somewhat remarkable; for there were two Divisions of the House on it. When the Question was put, Whether the said Countefs should be admitted to compound, it was agreed to by only 38 against 36. Then the Question, That the Composition shall be at two Sixths, being put, the House divided again, 33 against 33; when the Speaker gave for the Negative. So it was resolved, That the Composition should be at five Years for Fee-Simple, four for Entails, and three Years for Life, as the Estate was worth in the Year 1640; and that she be admitted to compound for her Personal Estate, according to that Rule, at one Third. We give this as a Specimen of what other Royalists suffered in these Times. The remaining Palaces, Castles, Parks, and other Estates, belonging to the late King, Queen, and Prince, which had been hitherto exempted, were also ordered to be sold to the best Bidder: Only *Hampton-Court* was reserved to be exchanged with the Lord-General for *Newhall*, an Estate in *Effex*, formerly belonging to the Duke of *Buckingham*, he paying the Difference in Proportion.—On the 20th of this Month Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* had been ordered by the House to make an Offer to *Cromwell* of this Exchange; and the Trustees for the Sale of the Royal Palaces were enjoined to forbear making any Contract about *Hampton-Court* for two Days. On the 26th Sir *Anthony* reported, That having acquainted the Lord-General with this Offer of the House, he return'd his Acknowledgment of their great Respects towards him therein; but desired they would proceed to dispose of *Hampton-Court*, according to the Act for that Purpose. Notwithstanding this seeming Refusal, the House resolved

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September.

Resolutions as to
the Sale of De-
linquents Estates.

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to stop the Sale thereof till they should give farther Order; and in the mean Time *Cromwell* thought proper to accept of the proposed Exchange.

October 1. The last great Victory over the *Dutch* at Sea, had so damp'd their Spirits, or their Finances were so exhausted, that they could not fit out another Fleet to carry on the War.

Mr. Ludlow writes ^m, 'That, since the Beginning thereof, the *English* had taken, sunk, and destroyed, between 14 and 1500 of their Ships, of which many were large Men of War. This great Loss, in Men and Ships, reduced the *Hollanders* to the lowest Ebb; and their Envoy here told the Council, That he would engage his Masters should send them a Blank, and that what Conditions of Peace they pleased to write on it, the other would subscribe.' A Treaty, upon this, being begun, the *English* Admirals, *Blake* and *Moncke*, gained a Recess, came to *London*, and took their Seats in the House: The Speaker, by Order, giving them both Thanks for their great and faithful Services to the Parliament and Commonwealth.

The Admirals
Blake and *Moncke*
receive the
Thanks of the
House.

The Lord Mayor
Elect of *London*
presented to the
Parliament for
their Approba-
tion.

About the Beginning of this Month Alderman *Thomas Vyner*, Lord Mayor Elect of *London*, was presented to the House for their Approbation. Upon which Occasion *Mr. Proby*, the Common Serjeant of that City, thus addressed himself to the House:

Mr. Speaker,

'THE Aldermen of the City of *London* do make their Addresses unto the Parliament of *England* from that City, that antient City, the City of *London*; famous in the Times of *Julius Cæsar* for its Populacy, for the Concourse and Traffic throughout the whole World, and especially for the peaceable and quiet Government of so populous a Nation. It is called by that learned Professor of the Common Law, *Sir Edward Coke*,
The

The Heart of the Commonwealth: And truly, I may safely say, it is the Metropolitan or chief City of this Nation, and a constant Lover of Parliaments. For albeit, by antient Charters confirmed by Parliaments, they are not to be drawn out without their own Consent; yet, both in antient Times and also modern Times, at the Desire of Parliament, they have not only ventured their Persons, but exhausted their Estates, and that most willingly. I need not go far backward to Stories to manifest this, modern Times will manifest it sufficiently; witness their Expeditions of late, that into *Kent*, others into the Western Parts, as of *Taunton-Dean*, and especially that of *Gloucester*, and all with Success. And it may be the like Expeditions, in Times past, that made an antient Record term them, *Propugnaculum Reipublicæ*, A Bulwark of the Commonwealth.

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‘ And, Sir, as they are an antient City, and famous in their Generation, so, by the Bounty and Goodness of former Parliaments, and the Justice of this present Parliament, they enjoy many notable Privileges: Amongst which, they enjoy this, that they have the Choice of their own Magistrates; which cannot but be accounted a singular Blessing or Benefit: For thereby they avoid the Curse denounced by the Prophet, of People not pleasing God, *To have Strangers to rule over them*.

‘ They enjoy a Blessing also and a Benefit; that they shall have of themselves those who know their Customs and Laws, which are many and dear unto them, and shall be governed according to the same.

‘ Sir, by two antient Charters, the first in the 6th Year of King *John*, and the other the 11th Year of *Henry III.* (both confirmed by Parliament) it is granted and confirmed unto the Citizens of *London*, *That they shall, from amongst themselves, choose out of themselves an Officer yearly*.

‘ Sir, it hath been a constant Use Custom, and Ceremony, that the Person who hath been chosen to be Lord-Mayor, hath been, by the Aldermen,

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in their Purple Robes, presented, from Time to Time, unto the Supreme Authority.

‘ It is reported, Sir, by some of the *Roman* Historians, that the *Romans*, in the Time of their Prosperity, were so curious in preserving of their Rights, Customs, and Ceremonies, concerning the Election of their Magistrates, that they committed the recording of them unto their High-Priests: It may be adjudged by some that this was too ceremonious; but, Sir, if they consider their Ends, there may be some Excuse in it; for they conceived that the Neglect of those Ceremonies which were performed upon the Election of their Magistrates, might, in Time to come, bring Magistrates and Magistracy into Contempt; for albeit Ceremonies add no Power to the Magistrate, yet they conceived it strengthened his Hands, and created a Kind of Awe and Obedience in the Multitude.

‘ Whatsoever their Intention was, I know not; but our Errand and our Intention is, to present unto the Parliament that Man, which the Citizens of *London* have made Choice of to be Lord Mayor for the Year ensuing; to the Intent, as he hath the Suffrages of the People, so he may have the Stamp and Authority of this Court, and the Approbation of it.

‘ Sir, according unto the Custom, and at the usual Time, they have proceeded unto their Election: They have made Choice of this Gentleman, Mr. Alderman *Jynor*, to be Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, for the Year ensuing: A Man well known and esteemed in this City of *London*, look’d upon to be a grave, wise, understanding Man, holy to God, and righteous to Man; a Man of a singular Judgment, yet notwithstanding, in Matters of Difficulty, desires to consult with the Aldermen his Brethren, who are Coadjutors in Government in this City of *London*, though not in that high Degree that he is.

‘ Sir, he is looked upon as a Man faithful to the Parliament, discreet, and fit for Government;
and

and the Aldermen of the City of *London*, in the Name of the City, do humbly present him to this Honourable Parliament for your Approbation, desiring he may be sworn after the usual Manner.

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To this pompous Harangue, which was so agreeable to the House, that it was published by their Authority^o, the Speaker return'd the usual Compliment of Approbation, and the Lord Mayor was sworn into his Office.

In the Proceedings of *August* last we took Notice of a Charge of Oppression and Cruelty being preferred against Sir *John Lentball*, Keeper of the Prison of the Upper Bench; also of a Petition presented to the House, in favour of the several Prisoners for Debt throughout the Nation; and that a Bill was, in consequence thereof, ordered to be brought in for Relief of Creditors and poor Debtors. After several Alterations this Bill was, on the 5th of this Month, passed into a Law. We have observed before, That many Acts have been made by Usurpers of the Legislative Power, which were worthy of better Times: And in this View we shall give an Abstract of the most important Clauses of that now before us.

Seventeen Commissioners were appointed to act as Judges in the Case of Prisoners in the Upper-Bench Prison, the Fleet, the Gatehouse in *Westminster*, the Counter in *Surry*, or Prison in *White-chapel*, with Power to examine, and determine in a summary Way, concerning the Causes of such Persons Imprisonment, their Escapes and their Estates, and to act as Commissioners of Bankrupts, who were to be allowed Two-pence in the Pound out of the Money arising by the Sale of such Prisoners Estates, for the Charges of them and their Clerks. A certain Number of Persons were also appointed to act in the same Capacity for each County in *England* and *Wales*, with an Allowance of Six-pence in the Pound.

An Act for Relief of Creditors and poor Debtors.

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‘ Prisoners not paying their Debts in six Months to be deemed Bankrupts; and in Case of Settlement of any Part of a Prisoner’s Estate in Trust for himself or any other Person, after the Debt contracted or Judgment obtain’d, these Commissioners were empowered to sell the Estate, and to fine any other Person aiding or assisting in such Fraud; and Persons not able to pay such Fine, were to be adjudged to the Pillory or Workhouse.

‘ Prisoners able to pay their Debts, and refusing so to do, were, if these Commissioners thought fit, to be ordered to close Imprisonment: The Estates of any Person for whose Debts another should be imprisoned, were to be sold as fully as the Estate of the Prisoner himself; and where a Prisoner made an Escape, his Estate not being sufficient to discharge his Debts, the Goaler and his Security were to make good the Deficiency: But in the Case of Prisoners, against whom there had not been any Declarations filed, these Commissioners were to discharge them, and to give them Damages for such vexatious Imprisonment.

‘ In order to prevent Prisoners, unable to pay their Debts or Fines, from perishing in Prison, thro’ the Cruelty or Obstinacy of any obdurate Creditor, these Commissioners were empowered to discharge, abate, or give Respite of Time to any such Prisoner, according as the Circumstances of the Case might require; and to remove to the Workhouse, or House of Correction, any obstinate Prisoner, who should be found to lye in Prison thro’ his own wilful Default; or to have run into Debt by a vicious Course of Life. They were also authorized to examine into the Case of Persons who had fraudulently got out of Goal by Means of former Acts for Relief of Insolvent Debtors, and to recommit them. They were to inquire into the Abuse of Charities given to Prisoners, and to punish the same; to make Orders for selling wholesome Provisions to the Prisoners at a reasonable Price; and to cause a Table of moderate Fees to be hung up in every Prison, and
any

any Person taking more was to forfeit fourfold to the Party injured, and to be set on the Pillory: And in case of the Death of a Prisoner before his Debts were paid, they were impowered to sell his Estate for Payment thereof: And tho' Prisoners enlarg'd by this Act were not liable to be arrested for Debts due before, yet their Estates were to remain subject to their Creditors Satisfaction.

‘ Lastly, These Commissioners were not to be responsible for their Conduct but to Parliament; and in case of any Difficulty, wherein they might apprehend they had not sufficient Power for the Relief of just Creditors or poor Prisoners, they were to certify the same to the House, with their Opinion what further Provision was necessary to be made.’

The Court of Chancery being voted down, the Commissioners of the Great Seal wanted Employment: And Mr. *Whitlocke*, one of them, was ordered to go Ambassador into *Sweden*, the Lord Viscount *Lisle* having declined that Employment, and the Sum of 1050*l.* was allowed him to fit out an Equipage for that Purpose; but he did not receive his Commission and Instructions till the latter End of this Month, and soon after set out for *Gravesend*, with a grand Retinue, on his Embassy.

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Oct. 11. The Council of State made a Report to the House, of several seditious and scandalous Pamphlets coming out, tending to the Disturbance of the Commonwealth; and that they had employed divers Persons to find out the Authors, Printers, and Publishers thereof. One of these, intitled, *A Charge of High Treason against Oliver Cromwell, Esq; for several Treasons by him committed*, was read, and some Informations taken of the Printers, &c. But the House referred this Business back to the Council, to prepare and present to them what they thought fit to be done in the Case, and for Prevention of the like Evils for the future.

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The House had debated for several Days past, in a Grand Committee, a Proposal for an Equality of Taxes: And on the 14th they came to the following Resolution, *viz.* That the next Assessment throughout the Nation be by a fix'd Sum on each respective County, to be levied by a Pound-Rate upon Estates, Real and Personal. And that it be referred to the Committee of the Army to consider how these Votes might be made practicable with the greatest Impartiality: But this equitable Resolution was afterwards set aside.

The Act for taking the Engagement repealed in part.

The Reader may remember the Engagement, or Oath, to be true to a Commonwealth Government, without either King or House of Lords², which was enjoined, by the last Parliament, to be taken and subscribed by all above the Age of 18 Years throughout the Kingdom: But there being a Clause therein, That no Person refusing to take the same should be admitted to sue for any Legacy or just Debt due to him, which had been attended with many grievous and oppressive Consequences to the Subject, a Motion was made in the House, on the 20th of this Month, by Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, to take it away; and a Bill for that Purpose was read a first Time: But the Question being put for a second Reading, it pass'd in the Negative by 48 against 23. However, the Committee of the Law were ordered to bring in another Bill for the Redress of the Abuse of pleading the Engagement in Bar of Suits, in Courts of Law and Equity: But it went no further during this Parliament.

An Act touching Compositions for Delinquents Estates.

Oct. 21. Another Division happened in the House, after reading a third Time a Bill for enabling the Commissioners of Parliament for compounding with Delinquents, to dispose of two Parts of the Lands and Estates of Recusants, for the Benefit of the Commonwealth. And the Question being

² In our 19th Volume, p. 245.

being put, That this Bill do pass, it was carried in the Affirmative, by 47 against 23, and ordered to be printed and published.

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A Bill had been brought in, for uniting and incorporating *Scotland* into one Free State and Commonwealth with *England*, which was debated in a Grand Committee of the whole House, on the 25th and some Days after; but was never concluded, by reason of their sudden Dissolution. A Bill was also ordered in, to make those Persons incapable of Places who should solicit for them; together with another for regulating the great Exorbitance of Fees in the Law and elsewhere; and for the better Election of Jurors.

A Bill had been likewise brought in, for appointing Commissioners to sit and determine Causes in Equity; which being debated on the 27th, it was rejected, by a Majority of 44 against 36; many Members being of Opinion that it would be a Setting up of two Courts rather than Removing of one; of Establishing the Court of Chancery rather than the Taking of it away: And another Bill, more conformable to the Vote of the 5th of *August* last, was order'd in; whereby the Court of Chancery was to be abolished, and a Provision made for the Dispatch of the Causes depending, at this Time, there, and determining Suits of Equity, for the future, in a summary Way; so as that the Expence thereof should not, in general, exceed 30 or 40*s*.

The House had likewise resolved to reduce the Number of Officers in the Excise and other Duties, and lower their respective Salaries, in order to a Saving of the public Charge.

But all these great Matters were left unfinished, for the Reason above-mentioned.

November. This Month began with the Election of a Council of State for the ensuing Year: A Resolution had passed, That sixteen of the old Council should stand, and fifteen be changed. The Form of the Election was much the same as formerly.

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merly. The Members present were 113; and though the House was much divided upon this Occasion, yet it is remarkable that the Lord General *Cromwell* had every Vote: The other Persons to be continued in the Council were Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Major General *Desborough*, *Walter Strickland* and *Henry Lawrence*, Esq^{rs}. Colonels *William Sydenham* and *Philip Jones*, Sir *Charles Wolseley*, Alderman *Tichburn*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Bart. *John Carew*, Esq; Col. *Edward Montagu*, Major-General *Harrison*, Lord Viscount *Lisle*, *Richard Major* and *Charles Howard*, Esq^{rs}. The new elected were Col. *Anthony Reus*, Sir *William Roberts*, *John Sadler*, Esq; Sir *Robert King*, Knt. Col. *Henry Cromwell*, Dr. *Jonathan Goddard*, Sir *William Brownlow*, Col. *Nathaniel Barton*, *George Lord Eure*, *John Stone*, Esq; Colonels *George Fleetwood* and *John James*, *John Anlaby* and *Jervas Bennet*, Esq^{rs}. and Col. *Bingham*.

The Monthly
Assessment for
the Army conti-
nued.

After debating, for some Days, the Instructions to be given to the new Council of State, and ordering in a Bill for ratifying the same, the House next proceeded to renew the Monthly Assessment of 120,000*l.* to continue for six Months longer: And, on a Division of 50 against 27, it was carried, That this Sum be divided amongst the several Counties, according to the last Act. It was afterwards resolved, That the Monthly Sum of 10,016*l.* 10*s.* should be charged upon *Scotland*, for the Maintenance of the Forces there, for eight Months, to commence from the first Instant.

Debate on a Bill
for a new Model
of the Law.

In the Proceedings of *August* we mentioned that a Committee was appointed to consider of a new Body of the Law: The House afterwards appointed every *Friday* to be set a part for this important Business, which occasioned great Debates. The Account whereof is thus given by a Member of this Convention, which we shall copy in his own Words.

The

‘ The Clerk of the House, in drawing up the Question, put the Word *Body* instead of *Model*, which some Members, Friends to this Vote, desired to have altered ; but others, Lovers of the Law as it now stood, opposed the Alteration of the Word, being very angry at the Vote ; and so it went as it was, with some seeming Disadvantage, by means of the Word *Body*, which some of those aforesaid angry Gentlemen would needs fancy, and accordingly reported, as if it were intended to destroy and take away the Laws we had been fighting for all this while as our Birth-Right and Inheritance : And such a Noise was made about it, that made many believe that the House was made up of Monsters, rather than Men of Reason and Judgment : But there were some very sober and moderate Gentlemen, in the Account of all Men, that concurred heartily in this Vote.

‘ Some of the Reasons that were alledged in the Debate producing this Vote, was the Intricacy, Uncertainty, and Incongruity in many Things, with the Word of God and right Reason, in the Laws as they now are.

‘ *First*, That whereas the Laws ought to be easy, plain and short, so that they who were to be subject to them, and have Benefit by them, might be able to know and understand them in some good Measure, they are now so voluminous, and thereby intricate and uncertain, dark and concealed, as few are able to come to the Knowledge of them. Those of the Profession of the Law differ, in very many Cases, what the Law is, and are of several Opinions about this Thing and the other ; and then how should others, tho’ highly concern’d, be able to understand them, and their Interest therein contain’d ; there being so many Law-Books of great Bulk, so many old musty Records, Reports and Book-Cases, as that, after the Time spent in School-Learning, the rest of the Time of the Flower of a Man’s Years would be little enough to read them over and peruse them.

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‘ That, besides, those Records and Book-Cases are very ill Guides or Lights to go by, for who knoweth the Circumstances that did attend them, which often alter the whole Case? Who knoweth whether, in those Cases, Bribery did not make the Judgment, or the Powerfulness of some great Man, or the Love or Hatred of the Judge, or the Negligence or Corruption of the Advocate? And, besides, in those Law-Cases, some Precedents are directly contrary to others; and an Advocate or Counsel alledgeth one Case or Report, and another another; and then the Judge followeth which he pleaseth: How arbitrary is the Law in this Case? And at what Uncertainty are the great Interests and Properties of Men?

‘ Besides, how various are the Customs which, notwithstanding, pass for Law? Usually unknown but to some old Men of the Place; which, tho’ it be ever so unrighteous and unreasonable, *Time out of Mind* carries it. How bulky and voluminous are the Statute-Books? And of so great a Price that few are able to buy them; and so large that few can spare Time to read them, to know their Right, and how they are concerned in them; and yet they must be judged, and stand or fall by them. And many Times some mussy Statute, of a hundred Years old and more inprinted, is found and made Use of by some crafty Lawyer, to the Undoing of an honest Man that meant no Hurt, nor knew any Thing at all of the Danger.

‘ Upon something held forth to this Effect, the Vote was first carried for a new Body or Model of the Law; and a Committee chosen to that End, who met often, and had the Help of some Gentlemen of Worth, that had deserved well of their Country, being true Patriots; who liked well the Thing, as very useful and desirable, it being not a destroying of the Law, or putting it down, as some scandalously reported, but a reducing the wholesome, just and good Laws into a Body, from them that are useless and out of Date; such as concern’d the Bishops and Holy Church, so call’d,

and

and were made in favour of Kings, and the Lusts of great Men, of which there are very many. If the Law of God be eyed, and right Reason look'd into in all, there be some Laws that are contrary to both; as the putting Men to Death for Theft, the sparing the Lives of Men for Murder, under the Notion and Name of Manslaughter; a Term and Distinction not found in the righteous Law of God: And that unreasonable Law, that if a Waggon or Cart, &c. driven by the Owner, or some other, with never so much Care, fall and kill any Person, the Owner, though it were his own Son or Servant, that could no way help it, shall lose his Horse and Waggon by the profane and superstitious Name of *Deodand*; and the Owners of the Goods shall lose them also upon the same Account, though they were as innocent as *Abel*. Other Instances might also be given.

• The Way the Committee took in order to their Work, which must needs be elaborate, was by reducing the several Laws to their proper Heads to which they did belong, and so modelizing or embodying of them; taking Knowledge of the Nature of them, and what the Law of God said in the Case, and how agreeable to right Reason they were; likewise how proportionable the Punishment was to the Offence or Crime; and wherein there seem'd any Thing either deficient or excessive, to offer a Supply and Remedy, in order to rectifying the whole. The Committee began with Criminals; Treason being the highest, they considered the Kinds thereof; what was meet to be adjudged Treason in a free Commonwealth, and what was meet to be the Punishment of Grand and Petty Treason. Then they proceeded to Murder, the Kinds of it, and what was to be so adjudg'd, and the Punishment thereof. The like they intended concerning Theft, and after to have ascertained and secured Property; as also the Executive Part of the Law: So as a Person should not need to part with one Property to secure and keep another, as now it is; Persons being forced to lose the

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the Property of their Cow, to keep the Property of their Horse; or one Parcel of Land to preserve and keep another. This Body of Law, when modeled, was to be reported to the House to be considered of, and passed by them as they should see Cause: A Work in itself great, and of high Esteem with many, for the good Fruit and Benefit that would arise from it: By which Means the huge Volumes of the Law would come to be reduced into the Bigness of a Pocket-Book, as it is, proportionably, in *New-England* and elsewhere. A Thing of so great Worth and Benefit as *England* is not yet worthy of, nor likely in a short Time to be so blest'd as to enjoy. And that was the true End and Endeavour of those Members that laboured in that Committee, although it was most falsely and wickedly reported, that their Endeavours tended to destroying the whole Laws, and pulling them up by the Roots.'

Nov. 10. According to the late annual Custom, this Parliament took upon them to nominate Sheriffs for all the Counties of *England* and *Wales*, and ordered in a Bill to regulate that Office, especially in passing their Accounts.

A Bill for taking
away Patronage
of Benefices.

Nov. 17. This Day the Question being proposed, That the Power of Patrons to present to Benefices shall, from henceforth, be taken away, and that a Bill be brought in for that Purpose, the House divided; *Yeas* 58, *Noes* 41; so the Bill was ordered in accordingly.

Nov. 21. The Bill for constituting a High Court of Justice was this Day read twice in the House: Then the Commissioners Names were read, and voted separately; and, after a third Reading, it passed without any Division. The Time of Continuance to be till the first of *August*, 1654.

December. This Parliament, or rather Convention, began now to be near its Period; though several

veral Bills, and some of great Moment, lay yet before them unfinished: Their great Master *Cromwell*, who had given them the Power they sat by, thinking proper, shortly after, to retract that Power, and leave them private Persons as he found them. They continued, however, to sit and do Business as usual, and act as if they had not the least Apprehension of a Dissolution. For

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On the second of this Month the House receiv'd the following Report from the Committee for Tythes, who had sat long on that Affair. The first Article of this Report was, 'That, in their Opinion, the best Way for ejecting ignorant, profane, and scandalous Ministers, was for Commissioners to be sent from thence into all the Counties, divided into six Circuits, besides *London* and *Middlesex*, three Commissioners into each Circuit, to join with four or six of every County, and each Riding in *Yorkshire* to be as a County; and that in every County the said Persons, or five of them, (two of the Parliament's Commissioners being always present) to be impowered to eject all Ministers, of that County, that were not of good Behaviour and holy in Conversation, or that were not apt and able to teach, or, in teaching, held not forth the faithful Word; or were not diligent, or laboured not in the Word and Doctrine, or were greedy of filthy Lucre: And to be also impower'd to settle godly and able Persons to preach the Gospel in all void Places, and to unite two or three Parishes together, so that none were above three Miles from the public Meeting-Place.'

The second Article contained only the Names of 21 Commissioners, recommended to the House by the Committee, consisting of about ten Ministers, the rest Laymen, some of whom were Officers in the Army.

By the third Article, 'All Persons approv'd on as public Preachers of the Gospel in the public Meeting-Places, were to enjoy the Maintenance already settled by Law, and such other Encouragement as the Parliament had already appointed, or there-

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thereafter should appoint: And that where any scrupled Payment of Tythes, the three next Justices of Peace, or two of them, should, upon Complaint, call the Parties concern'd before them; and, by the Oaths of lawful Witnesses, should duly apportion the Value of the said Tythes to be paid either in Money or Land, by them to be set out according to the said Value, to be held and enjoyed by him that was to have the said Tythes; and in case such apportion'd Value was not duly paid or enjoyed, according to the Order of the said Justices, the Tythes should be paid in Kind, and should be recovered in any Court of Record.

‘Lastly, That upon hearing and considering what had been offered to the Committee touching Property in Tythes, of Incumbents, Rectors, Possessors of Donatives or impropriate Tythes, it was the Opinion of the Committee, That the said Persons have a legal Property in Tythes.’

But the House came to no present Resolution upon this Business.

The next Day the Parliament appointed four Generals or Admirals for the Sea Service; the two old ones, *Blake* and *Moncke*, were continued; to whom they added Major-General *Desborough* and Vice-Admiral *Penn*.

Dec. 7. The House resumed the Debate upon the Report from the Committee of Tythes, which wholly engaged their Attention, without the least Intervention of other Business, till the 10th; when the first Clause of the said Report being read, and the Question put for agreeing with the Committee, it pass'd in the Negative by so small a Majority as 56 against 54. And the next Day of their Sitting we find only the following Entry in the *Journals*,

The Parliament *viz.*

resolv'd to surrender up their Power to the Lord-General *Cromwell*.

‘*Monday, Dec. 12.* It being moved in the House this Day, That the Sitting of this Parliament any longer, as now constituted, will not be for the Good of the Commonwealth; and that therefore it

it

it was requisite to deliver up unto the Lord-General *Cromwell* the Powers which they had received from him; and that Motion being seconded by several other Members, the House rose; and the Speaker, with many of the Members of the House, departed out of the House to *Whitehall*; where they, being the greater Number of the Members sitting in Parliament, did, by a Writing under their Hands, resign unto his Excellency their said Powers: And Mr. Speaker, attended with the Members, did present the same to his Excellency accordingly.

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This Convention being thus laid aside, without any other Notice taken of the Suddenness of it, in the *Journals*, it will be necessary to look into the Historians of these Times, to search for the Reasons of State which occasion'd it.

Mr. *Whitlocke* is very short in his Account of this Transaction; but a good Reason may be given for it: He was then gone Ambassador to *Sweden*, and did not return till some Time after the Dissolution. And he has hinted, in another Part of his *Memoirs*, That he was purposely sent abroad at this Time, by *Cromwell*, for fear he should any ways obstruct his ambitious Designs. So that we find nothing more in his Work, than what we may suppose he copied out of the *Journals* at his Return, since it is almost *verbatim* the same with them.—But Lieutenant-General *Ludlow* is much more explicit in this Matter, as appears by the following Extract from his *Memoirs*†:

‘The perfidious *Cromwell* having forgot his most solemn Professions and former Vows, as well as the Blood and Treasure that had been spent in this Contest, thought it high Time to take off the Mask; and resolved to sacrifice all our Victories and Deliverances to his Pride and Ambition, under Colour of taking upon him the Office, as it were, of a High Constable, in order to keep the
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Peace of the Nation, and to restrain Men from cutting one another's Throats. One Difficulty yet remained to obstruct his Design, and that was the Convention which he had assembled, and invested with Power, as well as earnestly solicited, to reform the Law, and reduce the Clergy to a more Evangelical Constitution. And having sufficiently alarmed those Interests, and shewn them their Danger from this Convention, he informed them farther, that they could not be ignorant of the Confusion that all Things were brought into by the immoderate Zeal of those in Authority, and to what Extremities Matters might be reduced, if permitted to go on; possibly, said he, to the utter Extirpation of Law and Gospel; and therefore advised that they would join their Interests to his, in order to prevent this Inundation. His Proposition was readily embraced by the corrupt Part of the Lawyers and Clergy, and so he became their Protector, and they the humble Supporters of his Tyranny. But that his Usurpation might seem less horrid, he so contrived it by his Instruments, that some of the Convention must openly manifest their Disapprobation of their own Proceedings; and, under divers specious Pretences, put a Period to their sitting.

‘To this End it was agreed by Mr. *Rouse*, Chairman to that Assembly, and the rest of *Cromwell's* Junto, to meet earlier in the House than usual, which was done accordingly on the 12th of *December*, 1653, hoping, by Surprise, to obtain a Vote for their Dissolution: Being met, Col. *Sydenham*, Sir *Charles Wolseley*, and others, according to their Instructions, bitterly inveighed against the Transactions of the Convention; and particularly charged them with a Design to destroy the Army, by not making a sufficient and timely Provision for their Pay. They alledged, That tho’ they had voted them a Sum of Money, yet having resolved to raise it by way of a Pound-Rate, it would take up so much Time to bring it in, that the Army must either starve by Want, or oppress
the

the Country by Free-Quarter. A second Ground of their Invectives was taken from a Motion made, that the Great Officers of the Army should serve without Pay for one Year. They accused them also of endeavouring to destroy the Clergy, the Law, and the Property of the Subject; instancing in their denying a Right of Presentation to the Patrons of Ecclesiastical Benefices: And, in general, that they had not a Frame of Spirit to do Justice, which they would have made out by their not relieving Sir *John Stawell*, when he made his Application to them. Thus they endeavoured to cajole the Clergy, Lawyers, Cavaliers, and all Interests, except that which they should have had most Regard to.

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‘ They thought to have prevented any Debate about their Design, by meeting so early in the Morning; but they were deceived, and enough found in the House to answer their Objections. To that concerning the Army it was said, That the Pound-Rate was found to be the most equal Way of raising Money, and therefore resolved upon by them; not at all doubting that it would come in soon enough for the Soldiers Supply: That they thought it reasonable and just, that the Great Officers of the Army, who were possessed of plentiful Estates, and had received all their Arrears, should abate somewhat of their Superfluities; and serve for a little Time freely, as well as those who were employed in Civil Affairs, whose Labour and Hazard was as great, and both equally concerned in the Public Good; especially considering how much this Conduct would contribute to the Ease and Satisfaction of the People, who could not be ignorant that there were now no pressing Occasions of Charge or Danger, the Enemy being every-where entirely subdued. To what had been done in order to a Reformation of the Law and Clergy, it was answered, That as they conceived there was great Need of it, so they had been told that they were called together principally for that End; and that if they had done any Thing too much there-

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in, the Gentlemen who blamed them for it were very unfit so to do, having themselves been the Men that pressed them continually to go much farther than they had done. To the Objection concerning Presentations, they said, That the Method used therein seemed to them too unreasonable to be continued; it being, in effect, to give a Power to the Greatest of the Parish, who were not always the Best, to prescribe what Religion they pleased to the Parishioners, by presenting a Person, howsoever unfit for that Office, to be their Minister. Lastly, in Answer to the Charge of denying Relief to Sir *John Stawell*, it was answered, That the Consideration of that Matter was before them, and that they would not have failed to act as his Case deserved.^r

Thus far Mr. *Ludlow*; who, being at this Time in *Ireland*, could write upon Information only. We shall therefore add some Particulars collected into one View, from three different Members of this Convention, said to have been present at the Dissolution of it^r; observing only, that our *Memorialist's* Narrative of this Transaction is, in general, confirmed by all these Contemporaries, whose further Account of it runs thus:

As soon as the Speaker had taken the Chair, a Member stood up, and spoke to this Effect: 'That he must disburden himself of some Things that had a long Time laid upon his Heart: That he was now to speak to the *Essè*, or Being, rather than the *Bene essè*, or Well-being, of the Commonwealth; which was ready to sink, through the ill Management of the Authority intrusted to that Assembly; and that, for his own Part, he must resign his Power from whence he had it; foreseeing clearly that their Waitings and Expectations of ever coming on to Things of Public Good were

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^r *An exact Relation of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Parliament which began July 4, 1653. By a Member thereof.*

A true Narrative of the Cause and Manner of the Dissolution of the late Parliament upon the 12th of December, 1653, by a Member present at that Transaction.

An Answer to the above Narrative, by another Member.

more and more disappointed: [He then instanced the Particulars touching the Army, the Clergy, the Law, &c. as before recited] And that, for these Considerations, he could not satisfy himself to sit any longer in the House, and so be guilty of bringing Confusion and Desolation upon the Nation: But if any would yet be so hardy as to continue there, he would say unto them, in the Words of the Prophet, Ephraim *bath joined himself to Idols; let him alone.*

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‘ This Motion being seconded by two more, with some bitter Invectives, another Member stood up; and (declaring himself to speak with much Disadvantage in that he had not, as the other Gentleman, any premeditated Thing to say) told the Speaker; ‘ He had in his Hand an Expedient in reference to the Things comprehended in the Vote of the 10th of *December*, concerning Tythes, which he hoped would satisfy all; and that the Committee for regulating the Law had ready to be offered to the House, several Bills of very great Concernment to the Good and Ease of the People; protesting before God, Angels, and Men, his Dissatisfaction to the proposed Resignation, as being destructive to the Commonwealth.’ Some Gentlemen standing up to second him, were not suffered to speak. Others continued to press the former Motion, insisting, ‘ That it was not now a Time to debate:’ Whereupon the Speaker, tho’ earnestly called on to keep the Chair, left it; and the Serjeant, as if he had been of his Counsel, took up the Mace, and carried it before him, though much urged to the contrary.’ These were instantly joined by the Chief Clerk, and followed by about 80 Members, who went directly to *Whitehall*, and there subscribed a Resignation of their Power to the Lord-General. Thirty odd staid in the House till Colonel *Goffe* and Major *White* came in, and intreated them earnestly to go out. To which it was as earnestly replied, That at their personal Request they could not, nor would not, withdraw, unless compell’d by Force. Whereupon the Of-

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ficers calling in a File of Musketeers, the Members withdrew; and some of these went, three or four Days after, and subscribed the Instrument of Resignation.

‘When this Instrument, so signed, was brought to *Cromwell*, he lifted up his Eyes with Astonishment; and, with no less seeming Modesty, refused to receive it; but, at length, through the Importunity of Major-General *Lambert* and others, representing to him that the Welfare of the Nation absolutely required his Acceptance of the Parliament’s Resignation, he thought fit to comply with their Request.’—Though it is the concurrent Opinion of all Contemporary Writers, that *Cromwell*’s Refusal to accept of this Offer of the Legislative Power was meer Hypocrisy, and that this formal Surrender of it was a Contrivance of his own, in order to pave the Way to the Protectorate; yet in a Speech made to the ensuing Parliament, *Sept. 12, 1654*, he positively affirms, in the most solemn Manner, ‘That he was so far from having any Hand in this Project, that he was an absolute Stranger to the Design, till the Speaker, with the major Part of the House, came to him with the Instrument of their Resignation.’

Remarks there-
on.

Before we take our Leave of this Convention, we shall mention a very high Charge brought against them by Lord *Clarendon*. His Lordship writes^s, ‘That these Men who took upon themselves the Supreme Authority of the Nation, and continued to act in that Capacity near six Months, to the Amazement and even Mirth of the People, never entered upon any grave or serious Debate, that might tend to any Settlement; but generally expressed great Sharpness and Animosity against the Clergy, and against all Learning; out of which they thought the Clergy had grown, and still would grow. That they look’d upon the Function itself to be Anti-Christian, the Persons to be burdensome to the People, and the requiring and paying of Tythes to be absolute *Judaism*, and so thought fit

fit that they should be abolished together: And that there might not, for the Time to come, be any Race of People who might revive these Pretences, they proposed, That all Lands belonging to the Universities, and Colleges in those Universities, might be sold; and that the Money arising thereby should be disposed of for the Public Service, and to ease the People from the Payment of Taxes and Contributions.'—But, upon a strict Review of the *Journals*, it does not appear that any such Motion, or Proposal, relating to the Universities, was ever made in the House. What might be intended by some Zealots, we pretend not to determine: But the only Attempt that carried any Tendency that Way, was the Scheme for abolishing of Tythes: And this Project, as we are assured by a Member of this Convention^t, was so far from being intended to the Prejudice of the Parochial Clergy, that the Design was only to take away the Manner of Maintenance by Tythes as unequal, burdensome, and being the Occasion of litigious Law Suits; and that a Bill was offered, on the Day of the Parliament's Resignation, for rendering the Revenues of the Clergy more certain and equal, by reducing Benefices of 200 *l.* a-year and upwards, and advancing those of a smaller Income; and also for making a Provision for the Widows and Children of Ministers; but that this equitable Proposal was refused a Reading; and that therefore the Charge against one Part of the House, of an Intent to destroy the Ministry, was a groundless Reproach, cast upon those who endeavoured only to take off Oppressions and Grievances.'—The Truth of this Gentleman's Assertion seems the less liable to be controverted, because it is an incontestable Fact, though generally passed over by the Historians of these Times, 'That the Long Parliament, when they abolished Episcopacy and sold the Temporal Revenues of the Bishops, Deans and Chapters, &c. made an express Reserve of all their Impropriations, which were to be applied to

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the Increase of the Revenues of the Parochial Clergy and Heads of Colleges; and the same Reserve of Improvements was made in the Act^t passed, by this Convention, for enabling Delinquents to compound for their Estates. The *Journals* also abound with Instances wherein those Gentlemen, who had the Misfortune to be under Sequestration for their Loyalty to the King, were obliged to endow the respective Vicarages of which they were Improvements, with a Portion of the Tythe; and the Value of such Portion, upon a Calculation of Years, was allowed in Part of Payment of their Compositions.

We are very far from entering into a Vindication of this Unconstitutional Assembly. It is certain that the Manner of their being convened, in Obedience to *Cromwell's* Warrant of Nomination, was the most flagrant Instance of Invasion upon the Rights and Liberties of all the Electors of the Three Nations our whole History affords; and was absolutely subversive of the very Being of Parliaments. But whether they deserve all that Ignominy which has been cast upon them by the Contemporary Historians we have cited in our Account of their Transactions, and some Modern Writers who have implicitly copied them^u, will best appear by the Laws they made, and the Bills they were employed about at the Time of their Dissolution.—Thus much by way of Digression.

But to return:—

Cromwell having, as before observed, accepted the Parliament's Instrument of Resignation, under
their

^t This Act, which is not printed in *Scobell's Collections*, may be seen in *Hughes's Abridgement*, p. 498.

^u Mr. *Rapin* writes, 'That this Ridiculous Assembly did nothing worth remembering in a Session of more than five Months.'

Vol. II. *Fol. Edit.* p. 590.

And Mr. *Carte*, from whom we expected some new Lights to be thrown upon this important Crisis of History, bestows little more than a Page upon the whole Transactions of this Assembly; which being chiefly copied from Lord *Clarendon*, he has fallen into the same Mistake about selling the Universities Lands.

their Hands and Seals, the same Day called a Council of Officers and others, whom our *Journalists*^w style Persons of Interest in the Nation; and having consulted with them how this great Burden of governing *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, with the Armies therein, and Navies at Sea, should be borne, and by whom; after several Days seeking of God, and advising therein, it was resolved, That a Council of godly, able, and discreet Persons should be named, to consist of not more than 21, nor less than 13: And that his Excellency be chosen Lord Protector of the Three Nations.

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The Names of this Council were, *Henry Lawrence*, Esq; the President; *Philip Lord Viscount Lisle*; the Majors General *Lambert, Desborough*, and *Skippon*; Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*; the Colonels *Edward Montagu, Philip Jones*, and *William Sydenham*; Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Charles Wolseley*, and Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Bart^s. *Francis Rouse*, Esq; Speaker of the late Convention, *Walter Strickland*, and *Richard Major*, Esq^{rs}. The Form and Manner of his Inauguration. most of whom had been principally concerned in bringing about the late Resignation^x; by which all Obstacles to *Cromwell's* Glory being quite removed, he was, four Days after, declared Lord Protector of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*: The Form and Manner of which unprecedented Ceremony we shall describe as particularly as possible.

On the 16th of *December* his Excellency came from *Whitehall*, attended by the Lords Commissioners

^w *Proceedings on State Affairs*, N^o. 221. *Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres*, N^o. 183. See also an intercepted Letter on this Subject, in *Thurloe's Papers*, Vol. I. p. 632.

^x Mr. *Ludlow* informs us, 'That *Cromwell* having, as a public Robber, possessed himself of the Nation's Purse, distributed 1000*l.* per Ann. to each of his Council, because nothing of Confidence or Honour could be presumed would ever keep them steady in their Fidelity to his Usurpation.' *Memoirs*, Vol. II. p. 479.

The Author of a Piece intitled, *A modest Vindication of Oliver Cromwell, from the unjust Accusations of Lieutenant-General Ludlow*, (printed in the Year 1698) imputes the severe Reflections this *Memorialist* so plentifully bestows upon *Cromwell*, after his Advancement to the Protectorate, to a Resentment at the Disappointment of his own Ambition by the Dissolution of the Long Parliament and the setting aside a Commonwealth Government.

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ers of the Great Seal of *England*; the Judges and Barons of the several Benches in their Robes; and most of the Council of the Commonwealth: The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, in their Scarlet Gowns, with the Recorder, Town-Clerk, and Sword-Bearer with the Cap of Maintenance and Sword, but not erected, passed immediately before his Excellency; all in their Coaches. Last of all came his Excellency himself, in his own Coach, dressed in a black Velvet Suit and Cloak, with his Life-Guard, and divers Gentlemen bare before him; many of the chief Officers of the Army, with their Cloaks and Swords, and Hats on, passed on Foot before and about his Coach.

In this Equipage his Excellency and Attendants came to the Court of Chancery in *Westminster-Hall*; where was placed a rich Chair of State, with a large Cushion and Carpets on the Floor. The Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal stood on each Side of the Chair, and his Excellency on the Left Hand of it, all bare-headed; Round about the Chair stood all the Judges and the Council of State; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were placed on the Right Side of the Court, and the chief Officers of the Army on the Left.

Then Major-General *Lambert*, after declaring the Dissolution of the Parliament and the great Exigency of the Times, did, in the Name of the Army, and of the Three Nations, desire the Lord-General to accept of the Protectorship; to which, with seemingly great Reluctance, having given his Consent, the following Instrument was read aloud by Mr. *Jessop*, one of the Secretaries of the Council:

THE GOVERNMENT of the COMMONWEALTH of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

And the Articles for the future Government of the Commonwealth,

I. **T**HAT the Supreme Legislative Authority of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, shall
be

be and reside in one Person, and the People assembled in Parliament; the Style of which Person shall be The Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

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II. That the Exercise of the chief Magistracy, and the Administration of the Government over the said Countries and Dominions, and the People thereof, shall be in the Lord Protector, assisted with a Council, the Number whereof shall not exceed 21, nor be less than 12.

III. That all Writs, Process, Commissions, Patents, Grants, and other Things, which now run in the Name and Style of The Keepers of the Liberty of England by Authority of Parliament, shall run in the Name and Style of The Lord Protector, from whom, for the future, shall be derived all Magistracy and Honours in these three Nations; and have the Power of Pardons (except in case of Murders and Treason) and Benefit of all Forfeitures for the public Use; and shall govern the said Countries and Dominions in all Things by the Advice of the Council, and according to these Presents and the Laws.

IV. That the Lord Protector, the Parliament sitting, shall dispose and order the Militia and Forces, both by Sea and Land, for the Peace and Good of the Three Nations, by Consent of Parliament; and that the Lord Protector, with the Advice and Consent of the major Part of the Council, shall dispose and order the Militia for the Ends aforesaid in the Intervals of Parliament.

V. That the Lord Protector, by the Advice aforesaid, shall direct in all Things concerning the keeping and holding of a good Correspondency with foreign Kings, Princes, and States; and also, with the Consent of the major Part of the Council, have the Power of War and Peace.

VI. That the Laws shall not be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, nor any new Law made, nor any Tax, Charge, or Imposition laid upon the People, but by common Consent in Parliament, save only as is express'd in the 30th Article.

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VII. *That there shall be a Parliament summoned to meet at Westminster upon the third Day of September, 1654, and that successively a Parliament shall be summoned once in every third Year, to be accounted from the Dissolution of the present Parliament.*

VIII. *That neither the Parliament to be next summoned, nor any successive Parliaments, shall, during the Time of five Months, to be accounted from the Day of their first Meeting, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own Consent.*

IX. *That as well the next as all other successive Parliaments, shall be summoned and elected in Manner hereafter express'd; that is to say, the Persons to be chosen within England, Wales, the Isles of Jersey, Guernsey, and the Town of Berwick upon Tweed, to sit and serve in Parliament, shall be, and not exceed, the Number of 400. The Persons to be chosen within Scotland, to sit and serve in Parliament, shall be, and not exceed, the Number of 30: And the Persons to be chosen to sit in Parliament for Ireland, shall be, and not exceed, the Number of 30.*

X. *That the Persons to be elected, to sit in Parliament from Time to Time, for the several Counties of England, Wales, the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey, and the Town of Berwick upon Tweed, and all Places within the same respectively, shall be according to the Proportions and Numbers hereafter express'd: That is to say,*

BEDFORDSHIRE	— 5	Cambridge Town	— 1
Bedford Town	— 1	Cambridge University	1
BERKSHIRE	— 5	Isle of Ely	— 2
Abingdon	— 1	CHESHIRE	— 4
Reading	— 1	Chester	— 1
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE	5	CORNWALL	— 8
Buckingham Town	— 1	Launceston	— 1
Aylesbury	— 1	Truroe	— 1
Wycomb	— 1	Penryn	— 1
CAMBRIDGESHIRE	— 4	Eastlow and Westlow	1

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CUMBERLAND	—	2	Queenborough	—	1	Inter-regnum. 1653.
Carlisle	—	1	LANCASHIRE	—	4	
DERBYSHIRE	—	4	Preston	—	1	December.
Derby Town	—	1	Lancaster	—	1	
DEVONSHIRE	—	11	Liverpool	—	1	
Exeter	—	2	Manchester	—	1	
Plymouth	—	2	LEICESTERSHIRE	—	4	
Clifton, Dartmouth, }			Leicester	—	2	
Hardness }		1	LINCOLNSHIRE	—	10	
Totness	—	1	Lincoln	—	2	
Barnstable	—	1	Boston	—	1	
Tiverton	—	1	Grantham	—	1	
Honiton	—	1	Stamford	—	1	
DORSETSHIRE	—	6	Great Grimsby	—	1	
Dorchester	—	1	MIDDLESEX	—	4	
Weymouth and Mel-			London	—	6	
comb-Regis }		1	Westminster	—	2	
Lyme-Regis	—	1	MONMOUTHSHIRE	—	3	
Pool	—	1	NORFOLK	—	10	
DURHAM	—	2	Norwich	—	2	
City of Durham	—	1	Lynn-Regis	—	2	
ESSEX	—	13	Great-Yarmouth	—	2	
Malden	—	1	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	—	6	
Colchester	—	2	Peterborough	—	1	
GLOUCESTERSHIRE	—	5	Northampton	—	1	
Gloucester	—	2	NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	—	4	
Tewksbury	—	1	Nottingham	—	2	
Cirencester	—	1	NORTHUMBERLAND	—	3	
HEREFORDSHIRE	—	4	Newcastle upon Tyne	—	1	
Hereford	—	1	Berwick	—	1	
Leominster	—	1	OXFORDSHIRE	—	5	
HERTFORDSHIRE	—	5	Oxford City	—	1	
St. Alban's	—	1	Oxford University	—	1	
Hertford	—	1	Woodstock	—	1	
HUNTINGDONSHIRE	—	3	RUTLANDSHIRE	—	2	
Huntingdon	—	1	SHROPSHIRE	—	4	
KENT	—	11	Shrewsbury	—	2	
Canterbury	—	2	Bridgnorth	—	1	
Rochester	—	1	Ludlow	—	1	
Maidstone	—	1	STAFFORDSHIRE	—	3	
Dover	—	1	Lichfield	—	1	
Sandwich	—	1	Stafford	—	1	

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<i>Newcastle under Line</i>	1	<i>New Sarum</i>	—	2
SOMERSETSHIRE	11	<i>Marlborough</i>	—	1
<i>Bristol</i>	—	<i>Devizes</i>	—	1
<i>Taunton</i>	—	WORCESTERSHIRE	—	5
<i>Bath</i>	—	<i>Worcester</i>	—	2
<i>Wells</i>	—	YORKSHIRE		
<i>Bridgwater</i>	—	<i>West-Riding</i>	—	6
SOUTHAMPTONSHIRE	8	<i>East-Riding</i>	—	4
<i>Winchester</i>	—	<i>North-Riding</i>	—	4
<i>Southampton</i>	—	<i>City of York</i>	—	2
<i>Portsmouth</i>	—	<i>Kingston upon Hull</i>	—	1
<i>Isle of Wight</i>	—	<i>Beverley</i>	—	1
<i>Andover</i>	—	<i>Scarborough</i>	—	1
SUFFOLK	10	<i>Richmond</i>	—	1
<i>Ipswich</i>	—	<i>Leeds</i>	—	1
<i>Bury St. Edmond's</i>	—	<i>Halifax</i>	—	1
<i>Dunwich</i>	—			
<i>Sudbury</i>	—	W A L E S.		
SURREY	6	ANGLESEY	—	2
<i>Southwark</i>	—	BRECKNOCKSHIRE	—	2
<i>Guilford</i>	—	CARDIGANSHIRE	—	2
<i>Ryegate</i>	—	CARMARTHENSHIRE	—	2
SUSSEX	9	CARNARVONSHIRE	—	2
<i>Chichester</i>	—	DENBIGHSHIRE	—	2
<i>Lewes</i>	—	FLINTSHIRE	—	2
<i>East-Grinstead</i>	—	GLAMORGANSHIRE	—	2
<i>Arundel</i>	—	<i>Cardiffe</i>	—	1
<i>Rye</i>	—	MERIONETHSHIRE	—	1
WESTMORELAND	2	MONTGOMERYSHIRE	—	2
WARWICKSHIRE	4	PEMBROKESHIRE	—	2
<i>Coventry</i>	—	<i>Haverford-West</i>	—	1
<i>Warwick</i>	—	RADNORSHIRE	—	2
WILTSHIRE	10			

The Distribution of the Persons to be chosen for Scotland and Ireland, and the several Counties, Cities, and Places therein, shall be according to such Proportions and Number as shall be agreed upon and declared by the Lord Protector and the major Part of the Council, before the sending forth Writs of Summons for the next Parliament.

XI. *That the Summons to Parliament shall be by Writ under the Great Seal of England, directed to the Sheriffs of the severall and respective Counties, with such Alteration as may suit with the present Government, to be made by the Lord Protector and his Council, which the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, shall seal, issue, and send abroad by Warrant from the Lord Protector. If the Lord Protector shall not give Warrant for issuing of Writs of Summons for the next Parliament, before the first of June, 1654, or for the Triennial Parliaments, before the first Day of August in every third Year, to be accounted as aforesaid; that then the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal for the Time being, shall, without any Warrant or Direction, within seven Days after the said first Day of June, 1654, seal, issue, and send abroad Writs of Summons (changing therein what is to be changed as aforesaid) to the severall and respective Sheriffs of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for summoning the Parliament to meet at Westminster, the third Day of September next; and shall likewise, within seven Days after the said first Day of August, in every third Year, to be accounted from the Dissolution of the precedent Parliament, seal, issue, and send abroad severall Writs of Summons, (changing therein what is to be changed) as aforesaid, for summoning the Parliament to meet at Westminster the sixth of November, in that third Year. That the said severall and respective Sheriffs shall, within ten Days after the Receipt of such Writ as aforesaid, cause the same to be proclaimed and published in every Market-Town within his County, upon the Market Days thereof, between Twelve and Three of the Clock; and shall then also publish and declare the certain Day of the Week and Month, for chusing Members to serve in Parliament for the Body of the said County, according to the Tenor of the said Writ, which shall be upon Wednesday five Weeks after the Date of the Writ; and shall likewise declare the Place where the Election shall be made: For which Purpose he shall appoint the most convenient Place*

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Place for the whole County to meet in ; and shall send Precepts for Elections to be made in all and every City, Town, Borough, or Place within his County, where Elections are to be made by Virtue of these Presents, to the Mayor, Sheriff, or other Head-Officer of such City, Town, Borough, or Place, within three Days after the Receipt of such Writ and Writs ; which the said Mayors, Sheriffs, and Officers respectively are to make Publication of, and of the certain Day for such Elections to be made in the said City, Town, or Place aforesaid, and to cause Elections to be made accordingly.

XII. *That at the Day and Place of Elections, the Sheriff of each County, and the said Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other Head-Officers within their Cities, Towns, Boroughs, and Places respectively, shall take View of the said Elections, and shall make Return into the Chancery within twenty Days after the said Elections, of the Persons elected by the greater Number of Electors, under their Hands and Seals, between him on the one Part, and the Electors on the other Part ; wherein shall be contained, That the Persons elected shall not have Power to alter the Government as it is hereby settled in one single Person and a Parliament.*

XIII. *That the Sheriff, who shall wittingly and willingly make any false Return, or neglect his Duty, shall incur the Penalty of 2000 Marks of lawful English Money ; the one Moiety to the Lord Protector, and the other Moiety to such Person as will sue for the same.*

XIV. *That all and every Person and Persons, who have aided, advised, assisted, or abetted in any War against the Parliament, since the first Day of January, 1641, (unless they have been since in the Service of the Parliament, and given signal Testimony of their good Affection thereunto) shall be disabled and incapable to be elected, or to give any Vote in the Election of any Members to serve in the next Parliament, or in the three succeeding Triennial Parliaments.*

XV.

XV. *That all such, who have advised, assisted, or abetted the Rebellion of Ireland, shall be disabled and incapable for ever to be elected, or give any Vote in the Election of any Member to serve in Parliament; as also all such who do or shall profess the Roman Catholick Religion.*

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XVI. *That all Votes and Elections given or made contrary, or not according to, these Qualifications, shall be null and void: And if any Person, who is hereby made incapable, shall give his Vote for Election of Members to serve in Parliament, such Person shall lose and forfeit one full Year's Value of his real Estate, and one full third Part of his Personal Estate; one Moiety thereof to the Lord Protector, and the other Moiety to him or them who shall sue for the same.*

XVII. *That the Persons who shall be elected to serve in Parliament, shall be such (and no other than such) as are Persons of known Integrity, fearing God, and of good Conversation, and being of the Age of twenty-one Years.*

XVIII. *That all and every Person and Persons seized or possessed to his own Use, of any Estate real or personal, to the Value of 200l. and not within the aforesaid Exceptions, shall be capable to elect Members to serve in Parliament for Counties.*

XIX. *That the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, shall be sworn before they enter into their Offices, truly and faithfully to issue forth, and send abroad, Writs of Summons to Parliament, at the Times and in the Manner before expressed: And in case of Neglect or Failure to issue and send abroad Writs accordingly, he or they shall for every such Offence be guilty of High-Treason, and suffer the Pains and Penalties thereof.*

XX. *That in case Writs be not issued out, as is before expressed, but that there be a Neglect therein, fifteen Days after the Time wherein the same ought to be issued out by the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal; that then the Parliament shall, as often as such Failure shall happen, assemble and be held at Westminster, in the usual Place,*

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Place, at the Times prefix'd, in Manner and by the Means hereafter express'd; that is to say, That the Sheriffs of the several and respective Counties, Sheriffdoms, Cities, Boroughs, and Places aforesaid, within England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Mayor and Bailiffs of the Borough of Berwick upon Tweed, and other the Places aforesaid respectively, shall at the several Courts and Places to be appointed as aforesaid, within thirty Days after the said fifteen Days, cause such Members to be chosen for their said several and respective Counties, Sheriffdoms, Universities, Cities, Boroughs, and Places aforesaid, by such Persons, and in such Manner, as if several and respective Writs of Summons to Parliament under the Great Seal had issued and been awarded according to the Tenor abovesaid: That if the Sheriff, or other Persons authorized, shall neglect his or their Duty herein, that all and every such Sheriff and Person authorized as aforesaid, so neglecting his or their Duty, shall, for every such Offence, be guilty of High Treason, and shall suffer the Pains and Penalties thereof.

XXI. *That the Clerk, call'd the Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery for the Time being, and all others, who shall afterwards execute that Office, to whom the Returns shall be made, shall for the next Parliament, and the two succeeding Triennial Parliaments, the next Day after such Return, certify the Names of the several Persons so returned, and of the Places for which he and they were chosen respectively, unto the Council; who shall peruse the said Returns, and examine whether the Persons so elected and returned be such as is agreeable to the Qualifications, and not disabled to be elected: And that every Person and Persons being so duly elected, and being approved of by the major Part of the Council to be Persons not disabled, but qualified as aforesaid, shall be esteemed a Member of Parliament, and be admitted to sit in Parliament, and not otherwise.*

XXII. *That the Persons so chosen and assembled in Manner aforesaid, or any sixty of them, shall be, and be deemed the Parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and the Supreme Legislative Power to be and reside in the Lord Protector and such Parliament, in Manner herein express'd.*

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XXIII. *That the Lord Protector, with the Advice of the major Part of the Council, shall at any other Time than is before express'd, when the Necessities of the State shall require it, summon Parliaments in Manner before express'd, which shall not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved without their own Consent, during the first three Months of their Sitting. And in case of future War with any foreign State, a Parliament shall be forthwith summoned for their Advice concerning the same.*

XXIV. *That all Bills agreed unto by the Parliament, shall be presented to the Lord Protector for his Consent; and in case he shall not give his Consent thereto, within twenty Days after they shall be presented to him, or give Satisfaction to the Parliament within the Time limited; that then, upon Declaration of the Parliament that the Lord Protector hath not consented nor given Satisfaction, such Bills shall pass into, and become, Laws, although he shall not give his Consent thereunto; provided such Bills contain nothing in them contrary to the Matters contained in these Presents.*

XXV. *That Henry Lawrence, Esq; &c. [whose Names are before-mention'd at p. 247.] or any seven of them, shall be a Council for the Purposes express'd in this Writing; and upon the Death or other Removal of any of them, the Parliament shall nominate six Persons of Ability, Integrity, and fearing God, for every one that is dead or removed; out of which the major Part of the Council shall elect two, and present them to the Lord Protector, of which he shall elect one: And in case the Parliament shall not nominate within twenty Days after Notice given unto them thereof, the major Part of the Council shall nominate three as aforesaid to the Lord Protector, who out of them shall supply the Vacancy: And un-*

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till this Choice be made, the remaining Part of the Council shall execute as fully in all Things, as if their Number were full. And in case of Corruption, or other Miscarriage in any of the Council in their Trust, the Parliament shall appoint seven of their Number, and the Council six, who, together with the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal for the Time being, shall have Power to hear and determine such Corruption and Miscarriage, and to award and inflict Punishment, as the Nature of the Offence shall deserve; which Punishment shall not be pardoned or remitted by the Lord Protector: And, in the Interval of Parliaments, the major Part of the Council, with the Consent of the Lord Protector, may, for Corruption, or other Miscarriage as aforesaid, suspend any of their Number from the Exercise of their Trust, if they shall find it just, untill the Matter shall be heard and examined as aforesaid.

XXVI. That the Lord Protector and the major Part of the Council aforesaid may, at any Time before the Meeting of the next Parliament, add to the Council such Persons as they shall think fit; provided the Number of the Council be not made thereby to exceed twenty-one, and the Quorum to be proportioned accordingly by the Lord Protector and the major Part of the Council.

XXVII. That a constant yearly Revenue shall be raised, settled, and established for maintaining of 10,000 Horse and Dragons, and 20,000 Foot, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the Defence and Security thereof, and also for a convenient Number of Ships for guarding of the Seas; besides 200,000*l.* per Ann. for defraying the other necessary Charges of Administration of Justice, and other Expences of the Government; which Revenue shall be raised by the Customs, and such other Ways and Means as shall be agreed upon by the Lord Protector and the Council, and shall not be taken away or diminish'd, nor the Way agreed upon for raising the same altered, but by the Consent of the Lord Protector and the Parliament.

XXVIII.

XXVIII. *That the said yearly Revenue shall be paid into the publick Treasury, and shall be issued out for the Uses aforesaid.*

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XXIX. *That in case there shall not be Cause hereafter to keep up so great a Defence both at Land or Sea, but that there be an Abatement made thereof, the Money which will be saved thereby, shall remain in Bank for the public Service, and not be employed to any other Use but by Consent of Parliament; or, in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Lord Protector and major Part of the Council.*

XXX. *That the raising of Money for defraying the Charge of the present extraordinary Forces, both at Sea and Land, in respect of the present Wars, shall be by Consent of Parliament, and not otherwise: Save only that the Lord Protector, with the Consent of the major Part of the Council, for preventing the Disorders and Dangers which might otherwise fall out both by Sea and Land, shall have Power, untill the Meeting of the first Parliament, to raise Money for the Purposes aforesaid; and also to make Laws and Ordinances for the Peace and Welfare of these Nations, where it shall be necessary; which shall be binding and in Force, untill Order shall be taken in Parliament concerning the same.*

XXXI. *That the Lands, Tenements, Rents, Royalties, Jurisdictions and Hereditaments which remain yet unsold, or undisposed of, by Act or Ordinance of Parliament, belonging to the Commonwealth, (except the Forests and Chases, and the Honours and Manors belonging to the same; the Lands of the Rebels in Ireland, lying in the four Counties of Dublin, Cork, Kildare, and Catherlaugh; the Lands forfeited by the People of Scotland in the late Wars; and also the Lands of Papists and Delinquents in England who have not yet compounded) shall be vested in the Lord Protector, to hold, to him and his Successors Lords Protectors of these Nations; and shall not be alienated but by Consent in Parliament. And all Debts, Fines, Issues, Amerciaments, Penalties and Profits, certain and casual, due to the Keepers of the Liberties of England by Authority of Par-*

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liament, shall be due to the Lord Protector, and be prayable into his public Receipt, and shall be recovered and prosecuted in his Name.

XXXII. *That the Office of Lord Protector over these Nations shall be elective and not hereditary; and upon the Death of the Lord Protector, another fit Person shall be forthwith elected to succeed him in the Government; which Election shall be by the Council, who, immediately upon the Death of the Lord Protector, shall assemble in the Chamber where they usually sit in Council; and, having given Notice to all their Members of the Cause of their assembling, shall, being thirteen at least present, proceed to the Election; and, before they depart the said Chamber, shall elect a fit Person to succeed in the Government, and forthwith cause Proclamation thereof to be made in all the three Nations as shall be requisite: And the Person that they, or the major Part of them, shall elect as aforesaid, shall be, and shall be taken to be, Lord Protector over these Nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging. Provided that none of the Children of the late King, nor any of his Line or Family, be elected to be Lord Protector or other Chief Magistrate over these Nations, or any the Dominions thereto belonging. And untill the aforesaid Election be past, the Council shall take Care of the Government, and administer in all Things as fully as the Lord Protector, or the Lord Protector and Council are enabled to do.*

XXXIII. *That Oliver Cromwell, Captain-General of the Forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland, shall be, and is hereby declared to be, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging, for his Life.*

XXXIV. *That the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Treasurer, Admiral, Chief Governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the Chief Justices of both the Benches, shall be chosen by the Approbation of Parliament; and, in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Approbation of the*
major

major Part of the Council, to be afterwards approved by the Parliament.

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XXXV. That the Christian Religion, as contained in the Scriptures, be held forth and recommended as the public Profession of these Nations; and that, as soon as may be, a Provision, less subject to Scruple and Contention, and more certain than the present, be made for the Encouragement and Maintenance of able and painful Teachers, for instructing the People, and for Discovery and Confutation of Error, Heresy, and whatever is contrary to sound Doctrine: And that untill such Provision be made, the present Maintenance shall not be taken away nor impeached.

XXXVI. That to the public Profession held forth none shall be compelled by Penalties or otherwise; but that Endeavours be used to win them by sound Doctrine, and the Example of a good Conversation.

XXXVII. That such as profess Faith in God by Jesus Christ, (though differing in Judgment from the Doctrine, Worship, or Discipline publicly held forth) shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in, the Profession of the Faith, and Exercise of their Religion; so as they abuse not this Liberty to the Civil Injury of others, and to the actual Disturbance of the Public Peace on their Parts: Provided this Liberty be not extended to Popery nor Prelacy, nor to such as, under the Profession of Christ, hold forth and practise Licentiousness.

XXXVIII. That all Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, and Clauses in any Law, Statute, or Ordinance, to the contrary of the aforesaid Liberty, shall be esteemed as null and void.

XXXIX. That the Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, made for the Sale or other Disposition of the Lands, Rents, and Hereditaments of the late King, Queen, and Prince, of Archbishops and Bishops, &c. Deans and Chapters, the Lands of Delinquents, and Forest Lands, or any of them, or of any other Lands, Tenements, Rents, and Hereditaments belonging to the Commonwealth, shall nowise be impeach'd or made invalid, but shall remain good and firm; and that the Securities given by Act and Ordinance of Par-

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liament for any Sum or Sums of Money, by any of the said Lands, the Excise, or by any other public Revenue; and also the Securities given by the public Faith of the Nation, and the Engagement of the public Faith for Satisfaction of Debts and Damages, shall remain firm and good, and not be made void and invalid upon any Pretence whatsoever.

XL. That the Articles given to, or made with, the Enemy, and afterwards confirmed by Parliament, shall be performed and made good to the Persons concerned therein: And that such Appeals as were depending in the last Parliament, for Relief concerning Bills of Sale of Delinquents Estates, may be heard and determined the next Parliament, any Thing in this Writing, or otherwise, to the contrary notwithstanding.

XLI. That every successive Lord Protector over these Nations shall take and subscribe a solemn Oath, in the Presence of the Council, and such others as they shall call to them, that he will seek the Peace, Quiet, and Welfare of these Nations, cause Law and Justice to be equally administer'd; and that he will not violate or infringe the Matters and Things contained in this Writing; and, in all other Things, will, to his Power, and to the best of his Understanding, govern these Nations according to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs thereof.

XLII. That each Person of the Council shall, before they enter upon their Trust, take and subscribe an Oath, that they will be true and faithful in their Trust, according to the best of their Knowledge; and that in the Election of every successive Lord Protector, they shall proceed therein impartially, and do nothing therein for any Promise, Fear, Favour, or Reward.

After reading the foregoing Instrument of Government, the Lord Commissioner *Lisle* presented the Form of an Oath, engrossed on Parchment, to be taken by the Lord Protector: During the reading of which his Excellency held up his Right Hand, and lifted up his Eyes to Heaven with great Solemnity and Devotion, and then subscribed the
same

same in the Face of the Court; which Oath was as follows: Inter-regnum.
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‘ **W** Hereas the major Part of the last Parliament (judging that their sitting any longer, as then constituted, would not be for the Good of this Commonwealth) did dissolve the same; and, by a Writing under their Hands, dated the 12th Day of this instant *December*, resigned unto me their Powers and Authorities; and whereas it was necessary thereupon, that some speedy Course should be taken for the Settlement of these Nations upon such a Basis and Foundation as, by the Blessing of God, might be lasting, secure Property, and answer those great Ends of Religion and Liberty so long contended for: And, upon full and mature Consideration had of the Form of Government hereunto annexed, being satisfied that the same, thro’ the Divine Assistance, may answer the Ends aforementioned; and having also been desired, and advised, as well by several Persons of Interest and Fidelity in this Commonwealth, as the Officers of the Army, to take upon me the Protection and Government of these Nations in the Manner expressed in the said Form of Government, I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare my Acceptance accordingly; and I do promise, in the Presence of God, that I will not violate or infringe the Matters and Things contained therein; but, to my Power, observe the same, and cause them to be observed; and shall, in all other Things, to the best of my Understanding, govern these Nations according to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs thereof; seeking their Peace, and causing Justice and Law to be equally administered.’

O. CROMWELL.

To this Oath was subjoined the following *Memorandum*:

Oliver Cromwell, *Captain-General of all the Forces of this Commonwealth, and now declared*
Lord

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Lord Protector thereof, did, this 16th Day of December, 1653, sign this Writing, and solemnly promise, as is therein contained, in Presence of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of England, who administered the same Oath, and of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, divers of the Judges of the Land, the Officers of State and Army, and many other Persons of Quality.

After the Lord Protector had taken the foregoing Oath, Major-General *Lambert*, kneeling, presented him with a Sword in the Scabbard, representing the Civil Sword, which his Excellency accepting put off his own; thereby to intimate that he would no longer rule by the Military one. Then the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Judges and Officers of the Army, invited him to take Possession of the Chair of State, as Lord Protector of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, which he did; and sat down with his Head covered, having a Gold Hatband about his Hat, the Court continuing all bare. Then the Lords Commissioners delivered up to him the Purse and Seals, and the Lord Mayor of *London* his Sword, which were presently deliver'd to them back again by his Highness, with an Exhortation to use them well; and then, after a Salute, the Court rose, and the Procession returned in the following Manner:

First came the Aldermen and the Members of the Council, from the Court of Chancery to *Westminster-Hall Gate*; next after them the Judges; then came the Commissioners of the Great Seal, one of them bearing the Purse and Seals: These were followed by the Life-Guard, and four Serjeants at Arms carrying the Maces belonging to the City of *London*, the Court of Chancery, the Council, and the Parliament. The Lord Mayor went next before his Highness with the Sword, and the Officers of the Army about his Person, to the Hall-Gate, where they took Coach, and returned to *Whitehall*; the Lord Mayor riding bare-headed, and carrying the Sword in the Boot

of the Coach with the Lord Protector, amidst the great Acclamations and Shoutings of the People all along the Streets as they passed.

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His Highness with his Attendants being returned to the Banqueting-House at *Whitehall*, they had an Exhortation made to them there by Mr. *Lockier*, Chaplain to his Highness; which being ended, the Company were dismissed with three Vollies of Shot by the Soldiery, between Four and Five at Night.

The new Protector being thus fully established in his Sovereignty, took upon him great State; and had all the Ceremonies and Respect paid to him, by all Sorts of Men, that was ever done to a Crowned Head. On the 19th of this Month he was proclaimed by Sound of Trumpet, in the *Palace-Yard Westminster*, at the *Old Exchange*, and several other Places in *London*; divers of the Council of State, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their Robes, the Serjeants at Arms, and the Heralds, attending. The same was done afterwards through every City and County in *England*.

The first Act of State the Protector did, was publishing a Proclamation on the 21st, for all Persons to continue in their Offices till his Highness's further Pleasure. Next he and his Council took upon them to pass several Ordinances, which were to be equal in Force with former Acts till the Meeting of a Parliament.

Ordinances passed by the Lord Protector and his Council.

The most material of those passed this Month were, For Continuance of the Excise: For changing the Words *The Keepers of the Liberty of England by Authority of Parliament*, into those of, *The Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging*, in all Courts of Law, Justice, or Equity, and in all Writs, Grants, Patents, Commissions, Indictments, &c. Also for the Probate of Wills and granting of Administrations.

This Month concluded with a solemn Day of Humiliation, to seek the Lord for a Blessing upon the new Government.

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January. The first Thing we find done this Month, was an Order for printing and publishing the Instrument of Government, together with the Form of the Oath the Protector had publickly taken, for the View of all Persons.

Next, as the Custom ever had been, and perhaps ever will be, to court the Rising Sun, Addressees were presented to the new Lord Protector, acknowledging the Necessity of his Office, with the just Foundation of his Government, and promising all dutiful Obedience thereto: Of these we shall give a Specimen.

The Officers of the Army had sufficiently shewn their Attachment to the new Plan of Power, by the Share they had in the Contrivance of it: The City of *London*, and the Sages of the Law, by the Part they acted at the Protector's Inauguration: And the Fleet were no less forward to testify their Allegiance to their new Sovereign, as appears by the following Address:

To his Highness the LORD PROTECTOR of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland,

The DECLARATION with the HUMBLE ADDRESS of the Generals and the several Commanders of the Fleet, by them severally subscribed,

Humbly sheweth,

An Address to him from the Fleet.

‘ **T**HAT these Nations of *Scotland, England,*
 ‘ and *Ireland*, have been for some Years
 ‘ like the Bush which burned, but is not consumed:
 ‘ And tho’ the Nations round about us stand ga-
 ‘ zing on to see us made a Desolation, as well as
 ‘ a Hissing unto them; yet we are hitherto, by the
 ‘ mighty Power of the Lord, and his wonderful
 ‘ Outgoings amongst us, made rather an Astonish-
 ‘ ment in our Preservation, than a Reproach by our
 ‘ Ruin and Devastation.

‘ In which great Work of the Lord we acknow-
 ‘ ledge, with Thankfulness, your Highness hath
 ‘ been a glorious Instrument; and hath undergone
 ‘ many

‘ many Hardships and Hazard of all that was
 ‘ near and dear unto you, even to Life itself; and
 ‘ understanding that, by Providence, your High-
 ‘ ness is intrusted with, and hath accepted of, the
 ‘ Protection of this Commonwealth in the Govern-
 ‘ ment thereof:

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‘ We are in Hopes that the Lord intends a Set-
 ‘ tlement of Peace to these poor distracted Nations;
 ‘ and that ourselves, with all the People of the
 ‘ Lord, shall enjoy and partake of the same under
 ‘ your Highness’s Protection, according to the
 ‘ Rule of the Lord *Jesus*; and therefore we have
 ‘ thought it necessary, and a Duty incumbent
 ‘ on us, to declare that we shall willingly be obe-
 ‘ dient and faithful to your Highness, in perform-
 ‘ ance of your great Trust; and also in the utmost
 ‘ Hazard of our Lives, with what else is near and
 ‘ dear unto us, be serviceable unto you, in the
 ‘ Station the Lord hath placed you, against yours
 ‘ and the Commonwealth’s Enemies, in our sever-
 ‘ al Places and Capacities during our Employ-
 ‘ ments.

‘ And having had good Testimony of your great
 ‘ Affection and yearning Bowels after the Weal
 ‘ of God’s People, we are embolden’d and encour-
 ‘ aged, in all Humility, to make this following
 ‘ Address:

‘ That your Highness will be pleased to have a
 ‘ more special Eye of Favour unto them above all
 ‘ others, in regard they are near and dear unto him
 ‘ who is the Lord of Lords and King of Kings,
 ‘ even our Lord *Jesus*, for which Cause he is not
 ‘ ashamed to call them Brethren; and we do hum-
 ‘ bly apprehend that their Privileges will be your
 ‘ Privilege; and to account of them as of your
 ‘ greatest Jewels, will doubtless turn to your great
 ‘ Advantage: And hereby you will, for Time
 ‘ to come, not only engage their Hearts unto you,
 ‘ who, in Times past, have not stood at a Distance
 ‘ from you, but your Highness will also engage the
 ‘ Lord *Jehovah*, your and their Father, to be a
 ‘ Refuge, Shield and Defence unto you, as well as
 ‘ an

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‘ an everlasting Rest for you, when all the Storms
‘ of this Commonwealth shall cease; which is, and
‘ shall be, the unfeign’d Prayers of

Your Highness’s most humble

And faithful Servants.

His Advance-
ment to the Pro-
tectorate recog-
nized by Foreign
Courts.

Thus far it appears that our new Lord Protector was recognized by the City of *London*, by the Judges of the Land, by the Army and the Fleet; nor was his Highness less respected by foreign Princes and States. It has been already observ’d * that the *Spanish* Ambassador, Don *Alonso de Cardenas*, was the first public Minister that acknowledged the Commonwealth after the Death of the late King, and he was also the first that made his Court to the Lord Protector. When this Minister was introduced to an Audience of his Highness, he not only congratulated his Accession to the Government, expressed the great Satisfaction his Master had therein, and assured him of the true and constant Friendship of *Spain* in the Condition he then stood; but also declared, if the Lord Protector would take the Crown of *England* upon him, his Catholic Majesty would venture his own in Defence of such an Attempt, with many other Expressions of Respect and Good-will: But to all these Professions the Protector was wise enough to return no more than a civil and general Answer, declaring his grateful Resentment of so generous an Offer; and his Readiness to consult with his Excellency upon the best Means to continue and improve the Friendship between the two States ^h.

The next foreign Minister was that of *Portugal*: He was soon afterwards followed by *France*, and the other Princes and States of *Europe*, who vyed with

* In our 19th Volume, p. 83.

^h See Mr. *Thurloe*’s Account of the Negotiations between *England*, *France*, and *Spain*, from the Time of *Oliver Cromwell*’s assuming the Government to the Restoration, in the first Volume of his *State Papers*, p. 759.

with each other which should have the greatest Share in the Favour of the new Governor of *England*, whose Authority now seem'd to be settled upon an unalterable Foundation.

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The late Convention had ordered in a Bill for redressing the Abuse of pleading a Refusal to take the Engagement to be true to a Commonwealth Government, in Bar of Suits in Courts of Law and Equity: But the Protector and his Council (partly, perhaps, to ingratiate himself with the Friends of Monarchy, or rather to pave the Way for his own Government of the Nation as a King, though under another Title) made an Ordinance for entirely annulling that pass'd by the Long Parliament, in *January*, 1649, for taking the Engagement. The Preamble to this Act of Repeal, which is too remarkable to be omitted, was express'd in the following Terms:

‘Whereas many general and promissory Oaths The Engagement repealed.
‘and Engagements, in former Times imposed up-
‘on the People of this Nation, have proved Bur-
‘dens and Snares to tender Consciences; and yet
‘have been exacted under several Penalties, For-
‘feitures, and Losses: Upon Consideration there-
‘of, and out of a Tendernefs of requiring such
‘Obligations, be it ordained, &c.’

Another Ordinance, well worth our Notice, was also pass'd, declaring what Offences should be adjudg'd High Treason against the new Government. Hereby it was enacted, ‘That if any Person should compass or imagine the Death of the Lord Protector; or maliciously or advisedly, by writing, printing, openly declaring, preaching, teaching, or otherwise publish, that the Lord Protector and the People in Parliament assembled are not the Supreme Authority of this Commonwealth; or that the Exercise of the Chief Magistracy and Administration of the Government, is not in the Lord Protector assisted with a Council; or that the said Government is tyrannical, usurped, or unlawful; or that there is any Parliament now in being, or that hath any
An Ordinance, declaring what Offences shall be deemed High Treason.
Con-

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January.

Continuance; or any Law in Force for continuing the Parliament, which is hereby declared to have been absolutely dissolved on the 20th of *April*, 1653; or should plot or endeavour to raise Force against the Protector or the present Government, or for the Subversion or Alteration of the same, and should declare such Endeavour by any open Deed: Every such Offence should be adjudged High Treason.

‘ If any Person (not being an Officer, Soldier, or Member of the Army) should plot or endeavour to stir up Mutiny therein; or to withdraw any Soldiers or Officers from their Obedience to their superior Officers, or from the present Government; or procure, invite, or assist any Foreigners to invade *England, Scotland, Ireland, &c.* or adhere to any Forces raised by the Enemies of this Commonwealth; or plot or endeavour the betraying or surrendering of any City, Town, Fort, Magazine, Ship, Vessel, or Forces by Sea or Land belonging to this Commonwealth; or counterfeit the Great Seal of *England, Scotland, or Ireland*, or the Sign Manual or Privy Seal of the Lord Protector; or should proclaim, declare, publish, or any Way promote, *Charles Stuart, James Stuart*, or any of the Posterity of the late King, or any Person claiming under him, or either of them, to be King of *England, Scotland, or Ireland*; or hold any Intelligence with the said *Charles Stuart, James Stuart*, the late Queen their Mother, or any of them; or counterfeit the Money of this Commonwealth, or import false Money in Imitation thereof, knowing the same to be so; or counterfeit any foreign Coin current in this Commonwealth, or import any such, knowing it to be false; or diminish the Money of this Commonwealth, or the Coin of any other Country current therein: All such Offences were declared High Treason; but not to create any Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture of Dower.’

It was also ordain'd, ‘ That no Offence whatsoever should be thereafter deem'd High Treason, except those above-recited; and all Prosecutions to be commenced within one Year after the Commission

mission of each Offence. But it was provided that all the Penal Laws against Papists, made in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, should still continue in Force.^h

Inter-regnum.

1653.

February.

February. This Month began with an Act of Festivity. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London* having invited the Lord Protector and his Council to dine with them at *Grocers-Hall*: On the 8th, being *Asb-Wednesday*, and the Day appointed for that Purpose, his Highness, attended by his Council and the principal Officers of the Army, with his own Life-Guard and many Persons of Quality, came in great State to *Temple-Bar*, about Noon; where the Lord Mayor and Aldermen waited for him. The Lord Mayor, advancing up to the Lord Protector's Coach of State, presented to him the City Sword; which his Highness having instantly returned, the Recorder, Mr. *Steele*, made him the Complements of the City in the following Speech^h:

May it please your Highness, my Lord Protector, The Recorder's
IT hath been observed by some, that when *Sa-* congratulatory
muel offered Sacrifice, he therefore reserved Speech to him in
the Shoulders for *Saul*, that he might know what the Name of that
City.
was the Weight of Government; the Consideration of which made *Maximilian* affirm, That none who knew how heavy Diadems were, would stoop to take them up. Governors are like the heavenly Bodies, much in Veneration, but never at Rest; and how can it otherwise be expected, when they are not made for themselves, or their own Glory, but for the Safety and Good of Mankind? As in the Natural, so in the Civil World, great Things are ordained to serve the less. We see the Sun, by its Beams, serving the Eye of the meanest Fly, as well as of the greatest Potentate: The Supremacy of
Salus

^h From the original Edition, printed for *Mattbew Wallbancke*, at *Grey's Inn Gate*. This Speech, with the Form of the whole Ceremonial of the City's Entertainment, was also published in *French* by *W. Du Gard*, one of the Printers to the Lord Protector, for the Information of Foreign Courts.

Inter-regnum.

1653.

February.

Salus Populi was the Conclusion of the twelve Tables, and will be a prevalent Maxim untill the End of the World.

‘ By thus much, my Lord, you may perceive the dark Side of this leading Cloud of Government; but if God vouchsafe Assistance to those Shoulders upon which the Government is laid, and puts under his everlasting Arms, you will see the bright Side also, and thence receive Encouragement: This Support he is pleased to give, by letting Rulers know he is the Author of their Power, and that from him they are to expect their Rule.

‘ The Designation of Government, as to Forms and Persons, is an human Institution, and mutable, as Things that are made; but Government itself, abstractively considered in its pure Original, is of a divine Offspring; and can with no less Difficulty be shaken, than those *Vestigia*, which being, as Relations tell us, upon the Tops of some Mountains above the Clouds, can be disordered by Wind and Tempest: And for the Rule, the Word or Reason of God in the divine Understanding is the eternal Law of all Things; but this being too deep a Well for Man’s Bucket to draw out of, it pleased his infinite Goodness to let fall a Rivulet from this Source into the Creature, which leaving an Impression in Man’s Understanding, we call the Law of Nature; but Man, having this Honour, presently became of no Understanding; his Mind being clouded with Passions and Sins, had soon need of superadded Helps, which God gave him by those other Laws fit for Government; and still gives a Spirit for the framing such municipal Laws as are according to his Will, and suitable to the Good of the People: But when this was done, the best Laws, without a Government, were no other than as the Sword behind the Ephod; and therefore *Moses* in his Time, and other Governors in their Time, must be as walking Laws and Administrators of Justice. We may conclude, my Lord, that your Highness hath experimented both these Encouragements, as being the Spectator of some,
and

and the Subject of other great Revolutions which have happened in this Age and Land of Wonders; and not only know that the Most High rules in the Kingdoms of Men, disposing them to whom he pleaseth, but also that it is not sufficient, with the Princes of the Nations, to exercise Dominion over Man, the common Image of God, except there be also a Share in the peculiar Image of his Righteousness and Holiness; they being God's indeed, and after a peculiar Manner, to whom the Reason or Word of God so comes.

Inter-regnum.
1653.
February.

‘ My Lord, there is one Help more in Government, which God is pleased often to add to the rest, which is the giving in of the Affections of the People. The Solemnity of this Day, wherein the Citizens of this great City appear in their several Companies, as so many Cities within the City, speaks much to this; they leave it to other Nations to salute their Rulers and victorious Commanders with the Names of *Cæsares* and *Imperatores*; and, after Triumphs, to erect for them their *Arcus Triumphales*; but, if I mistake not, their End, this Day, is not any such outward Pomp or Glory; but that those who have been delivered together might rejoice together; and to express their Desires that the Civil Sword might be as prosperous for Public Ends, in the Hand where it is placed, as the Military Sword hath been in the same Hand.

‘ This City seldom goes alone in public Actions; it was antiently called, by *Stephanides*, the Heart of the Nation; and if the Heart be in a politic Consideration as it is in the natural, it will communicate Life and Spirits into the other Members; by which Means the whole Body may unanimously contribute their Desires and Endeavours to oppose the common Enemy; and, after all our Distractions, see the Nation established upon the firm Basis of Peace and Righteousness, which is the End of Government, and shall be the End of my further troubling your Highness.’

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February.

To this learned Harangue the Lord Protector returned for Answer, 'That he was greatly obliged to the City of London for this and all former Testimonies of Respect.' And then, mounting his Horse of State, rode in a Kind of Triumph thro' the principal Streets; the several Companies, in their Livery Gowns, being placed on each Side thereof, in Scaffolds erected for that Purpose, and the Lord Mayor carrying the Sword bare-headed before him to *Grocers-Hall*, where a most magnificent Entertainment was provided. After Dinner his Highness knighted the Lord Mayor^a, and made him a present of his own Sword from his Side; which was the first Instance of the Protector's assuming this Piece of Regal Grandeur. The Bells rang all the Day; the Tower Guns were fired at his Highness's taking Leave of the City; and, about Seven in the Evening, he and his Attendants returned back to *Whitehall* in their Coaches.

The Lord Protector appoints several Judges.

About this Time the Lord Protector renewed the Patents of the Commissioners for the Great Seal, and of seven of the Judges, *viz.* *Rolle* and *Aske*, of the Upper Bench; *St. John*, *Atkins*, and *Hale*, of the Common Pleas; *Thorpe* and *Nicholas*, of the Exchequer: The Lawyers *Maynard*, *Pepys*, *Wynndham*, *Newdigate*, and *Twisden*, were called to the Degree of Serjeants, in order to their filling up the vacant Seats in *Westminster-Hall*. The Mention of these Names, many of whom were appointed Judges after the King's Restoration, verifies what has been said of *Cromwell*, That his first Care was to fill the Courts of Justice with the most eminent Men of the Bar.

The *Lent* Assizes were now approaching: These public Meetings gave Occasion to the several Counties and Cities of *England* to compliment the Protector on his Advancement to that Dignity.— In *Cromwell's* Speech to his second Parliament, he appeals to the Addresses from the County and City of

^a Alderman *Thomas Vyner*.

of York, as Evidences of the public Approbation of his taking the Protectorate upon him; we shall therefore select these two out of the many Congratulations presented on that Subject. And first that from the County.

Inter-regnum.
1653.
March,

To his Highness OLIVER CROMWELL, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging,

The HUMBLE PETITION and REPRESENTATION of the GRAND JURY, at the Assizes held at York, March 1653, in behalf of themselves and of the Nobility, Justices, Gentry, and Freeholders, with the other Inhabitants of the County of York^b,

‘ **W**Hereas it hath seemed good unto the Almighty and Wise Disposer of all Things, by many great and admirable Steps of Providence, to advance your Highness to the present and peaceable Administration of the Government of this Nation; in which we trust that all Friends to true Religion and public Liberties shall have Cause to rejoice: We, your Petitioners, do humbly and cheerfully testify our Thankfulness to your Highness for your great Care in preserving us from those Evils of Tyranny and Confusion, which we have very lately experienced ourselves in imminent Danger of; as also our Satisfaction and Acquiescence in the Government now established, which we shall, in our Places and Stations, be ready, with all Faithfulness, to preserve and maintain.

‘ Further representing and desiring, That Countenance may be given to godly and able Ministers of the Gospel, such as have or shall give Testimony of their good Affection to the State, as it

S 2

‘ is

^b From *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 199. It is also in Mr. Nickolls's *Collection of Letters and State Papers*, p. 105, in which the Reader, who is not satisfied with this Specimen, may find a Number of Addresses to Cromwell, sufficient to gratify his Curiosity.

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‘ is now constituted; and that, for their Encouragement, some timely Provision may be made for a competent and comfortable Subsistence; and that they may be vindicated from Oppression and Affronts arising from Principles of Profaneness and Superstition, or other more specious Pretexts, alike dangerous to the Propagation of the Gospel, and in Opposition to Government: That scandalous Ministers may be removed: That former Superstitions and Corruptions, still tenaciously retained by many, to the Hurt of ignorant Persons, and Prejudice of such Ministers as desire to be faithful, may be reformed; and that those Disorders and Distractions, which daily break out in Matters of Religion, may be rectified: And that the Augmentations to Ministers, already made, may be more equally and impartially distributed.

‘ And for all these Ends, that some faithful and godly Men may be empowered in this County, so as we may not be necessitated, upon every Occasion, to repair to *London*, where many necessary Things are not prosecuted by reason of the Tediousness and great Expence of such Journies.

‘ That Courts of Judicature may be settled in this great County, (it having been under Consideration, and great Progress formerly made therein in Parliament, on the Petition of the People in these Parts) for the preventing of excessive Expences and other Inconveniences in Law-Suits, occasioned by the Remoteness of this County from the City of *London*.

‘ That some Way may, with all Conveniency, be directed and settled for Probate of Wills within this County: And that these Courts may be without unnecessary Appeals to *London*.’

Sign’d by George Payler, Esq; Foreman, and the rest of the Grand Jury, Justices, &c.

It does not appear by whom this Address of the County of *York* was transmitted to the Lord Protector: But the following from the City was presented

sented to him by Sir *Thomas Widdrington* ^c their Recorder, and Alderman *Dickinson*.

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1653.
March.

To his Highness *OLIVER Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging,*

The RECOGNITION of the MAYOR, ALDERMEN, and COMMONALTY of the antient City of York.

‘ **W**HEREAS it hath pleased the Lord to And another
‘ run to and fro through the Earth, to from the City.
‘ shew himself strong on the Behalf of them whose
‘ Hearts are perfect toward him; to make bare
‘ his Arm, and bring Salvation to a Nation not
‘ worthy to be beloved, and to break many Yokes
‘ from off our Necks; in accomplishment whereof,
‘ though human Power and Might have been
‘ made Use of, yet Things have been so ordered
‘ and over-ruled by the Spirit in the Midst of the
‘ Wheels, that we may justly say, *we are not saved*
‘ *by Bow or by Sword, but by the Lord our God:*
‘ And therefore, in the first Place, we look upon
‘ it as our Duty to acknowledge Salvation and
‘ Blessing to him that sits upon the Throne of
‘ Heaven judging right, who hath done whatsoever
‘ it pleaseth him in Heaven and in Earth, and in
‘ all deep Places.

‘ Yet when we also consider how it hath seem-
‘ ed good in the Eyes of God to single out your
‘ Highness as the *Man of his Right Hand whom*
‘ *he has made strong for himself;* and, through
‘ your Vigilancy, Courage, and Constancy, to do
‘ great and wonderful Things in the Midst of us;
‘ in delivering us from imminent and pressing Dan-
‘ gers on the Right Hand and on the Left: While
‘ we bless the Lord that our Heart is also to the
‘ Governors of *Israel*, who have jeoparded their
‘ Lives in the high Places of the Field, and are
‘ daily going on to second their valiant Acts by

S 3

‘ pru-

^c He was soon after made a Commissioner of the Great Seal, in the room of Serjeant *Kilby*; and Mr. *Dickinson* was knighted by the Protector.

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‘ prudent Counsels, if we may enjoy the End of
 ‘ every just War, which is a safe and honourable
 ‘ Peace: Unto your Highness, therefore, as once
 ‘ the People of *Israel* to their Ruler, we humbly
 ‘ and heartily say, *Peace be to thee, and Peace be to*
 ‘ *thine Helpers.*

‘ If we should promise to ourselves too much
 ‘ concerning your Highness, or any of the Sons of
 ‘ Men, especially in this Day, wherein the Lord
 ‘ hath so much rejected our Confidences, and pro-
 ‘ claimed to us, by the Voice of manifold Provi-
 ‘ dences, *Cease from Man whose Breath is in his*
 ‘ *Nostrils,* we should not only intrench upon the
 ‘ Honour of God and our own Peace, but be in-
 ‘ jurious to your Highness; who are better able to
 ‘ bear the Burden of much Trouble than a little
 ‘ of that Trust which we owe to him alone, in
 ‘ whom there is everlasting Strength, who turns
 ‘ every Staff into a Reed when it is rested upon:
 ‘ Yet we cannot but declare our great Hopes, that
 ‘ the Lord will still delight to use your Highness as
 ‘ a blessed Instrument of much Honour to his Great
 ‘ Name, and Happiness to this Commonwealth;
 ‘ That as he hath help’d you to build the Walls of
 ‘ *Jerusalem,* the Defence and Safety of his People
 ‘ even in troublous Times, so he will also engage
 ‘ your Heart, and enable your Hands, according to
 ‘ your eminent Station, to further the spiritual
 ‘ Work and Welfare of his Church and Temple,
 ‘ which waits for a Season of more Tranquility.

‘ We add only the Declaration of our Satisfac-
 ‘ tion in the present Government administer’d by
 ‘ your Highness, and our chearful Submission un-
 ‘ to it, which we shall be ready to second with our
 ‘ Prayers and Endeavours for your Highness’s Pro-
 ‘ sperity, and the People of God who sit under your
 ‘ Shadow; humbly begging your favourable Aspect
 ‘ and Influence upon the Honour and Privileges of
 ‘ this antient City, whose Strength is much decay’d,
 ‘ though their Burdens be increas’d, which yet
 ‘ they are more willing, though unable, to under-
 ‘ go, till a just and seasonable Remedy be procur’d.

Our

Our Lot is fallen something remote from the great Scene of public Affairs, which hath been prejudicial to us; but we trust, though we enjoy not so much Warmth of the Sun as the Southern Parts, yet the Beams of your Highness's Goodness and Justice, whom God hath set up in the Midst of us, shall comfortably reach this Place; which, though in many outward Advantages, it may come behind others, yet will strive to an Equality with the best, in their Affection and Faithfulness to your Highness and this Commonwealth.

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March.

Sign'd by the Mayor, in the Name and by the Appointment of the Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of York,

JOHN GELDART, Mayor.

On the 20th of this Month a Declaration was issued out by the Lord Protector, inviting the People of England and Wales to a Day of solemn Fasting and Humiliation, which was express'd in the following remarkable Terms:

THE common and notorious Sins so boldly and impenitently practis'd amongst us, notwithstanding all our Deliverances and Mercies, together with the present Rod of an exceeding and universal Drought, which hath lain upon us for some Years, and still continues and increases upon us, threatening Famine and Mortality, are no less than the Voice of God, calling aloud in our Ears to Fasting, and Mourning, -and great Abasement of Soul before him.

A Declaration for the Observance of a Fast-Day.

And although the general End and Intendment of inviting to a Day of Fast be, that all, of every Condition and Quality whatever, do try and examine their Heart and Way more especially, according to their own Light, and in the Use of such Helps and Means as the Lord, in his Providence, shall afford to each one, before and upon the said Day of meeting; yet finding some Thoughts set seriously upon our Heart, we judg'd it not amiss to recommend the same to Christian

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‘ Consideration, not to impose them upon any, or
 ‘ to confine any within the Compass thereof; but
 ‘ leaving every Man free to the Grace of God, and
 ‘ to the Work of his Spirit, who worketh all
 ‘ Things in the Hearts of the Sons of Men, accord-
 ‘ ing to the Counsel and good Pleasure of his own
 ‘ Will.

‘ It cannot be denied, but that God hath vouch-
 ‘ safed to appear much in working the Deliverance
 ‘ of this Nation from their Bondage and Thral-
 ‘ dom, both Spiritual and Civil, and procuring for
 ‘ them a just Liberty by his own People.

‘ Do we now walk worthy of our high Calling,
 ‘ in Humbleness and Lowliness of Mind, holding
 ‘ forth the Virtues of *Christ* in Time of Peace,
 ‘ which was our Strength by the Efficacy of which
 ‘ all our great Things were accomplished in Time
 ‘ of War?

‘ Have we a Heart prepared as willingly to com-
 ‘ municate the said just Freedom and Liberty to
 ‘ one another, as we were industrious to get it?

‘ Do we thankfully acknowledge our Mercy in
 ‘ the Liberty of worshipping God in Holiness and
 ‘ Righteousness without Fear, being delivered out
 ‘ of the Hands of our Enemies?

‘ Is brotherly Love, and a healing Spirit, of that
 ‘ Force and Value amongst us that it ought?

‘ Do we own one another more for the Grace
 ‘ of God, and for the Spiritual Regeneration, and
 ‘ for the Image of *Christ* in each other, or for our
 ‘ Agreement with each other in this or that Form
 ‘ or Opinion.

‘ Do we first search for the Kingdom of *Christ*
 ‘ within us, before we seek one without us? Or
 ‘ do we listen to them that say concerning the Co-
 ‘ ming of *Christ*, *Lo here, and lo there?*

‘ Do we not more contend for Saints having
 ‘ Rule in the World, than over their own Hearts?

‘ Are there not too many amongst us that cry
 ‘ up the Spirit with a Neglect of Love, Joy, Peace,
 ‘ Meekness, Patience, Goodness, Temperance,
 ‘ Long-suffering, Forbearance, Brotherly-kind-
 ness,

'ness, and Charity, which are the Fruits of the Spirit? Inter-regnum.
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'How do we carry ourselves, not only to the Churches of God, and the Saints, but towards them that are without? March.

'Do not some of us affirm ourselves to be the only true Ministry, and true Churches of *Christ*, and ourselves only to have the Ordinances in Purity; excluding our Brethren, tho' of equal Gifts, and having as large a Seal of their Ministry, and desiring with as much Fervor and Zeal to enjoy the Ordinances in their utmost Purity?

'Do we remember old Puritan, or rather primitive, Simplicity, Self-denial, Mercy to the Poor, Uprightness, and Justice? Or are we not herein put to Shame by those we easily call Anti-Christian or Carnal?

'Hath not one that we judge to be without, equal Justice with one we will call a Brother?

'Do we contend for the Faith once delivered unto the Saints, as the Things of Faith ought to be contended for, with Love, Patience, Tenderness, Zeal, by Persuasion? Or rather impudently, proudly, carnally, provokingly, sensually, thereby prejudicing the Truth: And whilst we are calling aloud for the Propagation of the Gospel, do we not put Stumbling-Blocks in the Way of the same, and too much endeavour to make good the Slander of the World, in charging Profession with Faction?

'For want of Circumspection and Care herein, and a due Regard to Sincerity and Uprightness, have not many apostatized, running after Fancies and Notions, listening to filthy Dreams, worshipping of Angels, and been carried away by their Impulsions; and instead of contending for the Faith, and holding the Form of sound Words, contended against Magistracy, against Ministry, against Scriptures, and against Ordinances; too much

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March.

‘ much verifying the Prophecies of *Peter* and *Jude*,
‘ in the following Words.

[*Here follows a Quotation from the second Epistle
of St. Peter, Chap. ii. Ver. 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, 12,
13, 15; and the Epistle of St. Jude, Ver. 4,
8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19: And then the De-
claration proceeds thus:*]

‘ Notwithstanding all these Evils, and worse, are
‘ upon us, and in the Midst of us, like grey Hairs,
‘ here and there, and we *know it not, our Pride*
‘ *testifying to our Face*, Hosea vii. 9, 10. and we re-
‘ turn not to the Lord our God, nor seek him for
‘ all this, but these Things are contended for, and
‘ justified under the Notion of Liberty; it being
‘ too commonly said that the Magistrate hath no-
‘ thing to do either in repressing or remedying these
‘ Things: We do hereby appeal to the Hearts and
‘ Consciences of all fearing the Lord, whether
‘ there be not as great Cause as ever to lay our
‘ Mouths in the Dust, and abhor ourselves before
‘ the Lord for these Abominations, whereby the
‘ Eyes of his Jealousy are provoked, and to seek
‘ Pardon and Remedy from himself of these Things.

‘ Add we to these, the Resistance, Hatred, and
‘ Neglect of the Gospel by the Generality of Men,
‘ the Contempt and Despight done to the sincere
‘ Professors of it, even for the Image of *Christ* in
‘ them (although they have been Instruments of
‘ many Mercies, and of the obtaining a just Free-
‘ dom for the Nation); the Wickedness, Oaths,
‘ Drunkenness, Revellings, and all Manner of Li-
‘ centiousness, for which Things Sake the Scriptures
‘ have said, *That the Wrath of God shall undoubtedly*
‘ *overtake the Children of Disobedience.* And
‘ lastly, the Impunity of these Things, through the
‘ Neglect of the Magistracy throughout the Na-
‘ tion; and then judge whether there be not Cause
‘ that we be called upon; and do call upon each
‘ other seriously, to lay these Things to Heart,
‘ being greatly abased before the Lord for them.

‘ Upon the serious Consideration of these things,
‘ we

‘ we judge it not only warrantable, but a Duty, to
 ‘ call upon you, and ourselves, to set apart Time
 ‘ to humble our Souls before the Lord; to cry un-
 ‘ to him for broken and penitent Hearts, and that
 ‘ he would turn away his Wrath, and be reconci-
 ‘ led to us; for the Lord is merciful, gracious,
 ‘ long-suffering, and abundant in Goodness and
 ‘ Truth, forgiving Iniquity, Transgression, and Sin;
 ‘ and will by no Means clear the Guilty, who are
 ‘ only such as go on in their hardened and impe-
 ‘ nitent Hearts, refusing the Grace offered by *Jefus*
 ‘ *Chrift*.

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 1653.
 March.

‘ It is therefore hereby declared, That we and
 ‘ our Council do purpose, by the Grace of God,
 ‘ to set apart *Friday* next, being the 24th of this
 ‘ present *March*, for a Day of Humiliation.

‘ And it is hereby ordered, That timely Notice
 ‘ be given to the Cities of *London* and *Wefminfter*;
 ‘ who, together with the Out-Parishes, we doubt
 ‘ not, will willingly keep the same Day; and that
 ‘ like Notice be given throughout *England* and
 ‘ *Wales*, to have their feveral Meetings upon the
 ‘ same Day Fortnight; and that Copies hereof be
 ‘ printed and published, to be sent to the feveral
 ‘ Parts of the Nation, to invite them unto the
 ‘ Performance of this Duty.’

Given at Whitehall, March 20, 1653.

J. THURLOE. †

It has already been mentioned that the *States* The Dutch send three Ambassadors to sollicit a Peace.
General were grown tired of the War, and had
 sued to *England*, in a very humble Manner, for
 Peace. To that End three Ambassadors Extraor-
 dinary, *Beverningek*, *Nieupoort*, and *Jorgeftall*,
 came over in *February* last. On the 23d of that
 Month Sir *Oliver Fleming*, Master of the Cere-
 monies, went down to meet them at *Gravefend*,
 from whence they and their Retinue were brought
 in feveral of the Commonwealth’s Barges to the
Tower the next Day, and conducted to a House
 pro-

† Appointed Secretary of State to *Cromwell*, upon his Acceptance
 of the Protectorate.

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March.

provided for them in *Westminster*. The Ambassadors went in the Lord Protector's Coach of State, followed by those of several Foreign Ministers, and above sixty Coaches more: On the 4th of this Month they were admitted, with great Solemnity, to an Audience of the Lord Protector, in the Banqueting-House at *Whitehall*, which was richly hung with Tapistry for that Purpose.

To shew how well *Cromwell* acted the Monarch at giving Audience to Foreign Ministers, we shall exhibit the Ceremonial observed on this Occasion, as drawn up by the Ambassadors themselves, and transmitted to their Masters the States General; the Particulars of which run thus: ^f

The Manner of
the Lord Protec-
tor's admitting
them to an Au-
dience.

‘ We were fetched in his Highness's Coach, accompanied with the Lords *Strickland* and *Jones*, with the Master of the Ceremonies, and brought into the great Banqueting-Room at *Whitehall*, where his Highness had never given Audience before. He stood upon a Pedestal raised with three Steps high from the Floor, being attended by the Lords, President *Laurence*, Viscount *Lisle*, *Skippon*, *Mackworth*, *Pickering*, *Montague*, and Mr. Secretary *Thurloe*, together with the Lord *Claypole*, his Master of the Horse. After three Reverences made at Entrance, in the Middle, and before the Steps, which his Highness answered every Time with reciprocal Reverences, we came up to the Steps; and deliver'd to him, with a Compliment of Induction, our Letters of Credence, who received them without opening them; the Reason whereof we suppose to be our delivering of the Copies and Translations thereof in the Morning to Mr. *Thurloe*; so that we presently began our Discourse with a Compliment of Thanks, for his good Inclination shewn in the Treaty of our common Peace; of Congratulation in his new Dignity; of Presentation of all reciprocal and neighbourly Offices on the Behalf of their High and Mighty Lordships; and wishing all Safety and Prosperity to his Person and Government: To which he answered with

many

^f *Thurloe's State Papers*, Vol. I. p. 154.

many serious and significant Expressions of reciprocal Inclination to their High and Mighty Lordships, and to the Business of Peace; for which we once more returned him Thanks, and presented to his Highness twenty of our Gentlemen, who went in before us, being followed by twenty more, to have the Honour to kiss his Hand; but instead thereof his Highness advanced near the Steps, bow'd to all the Gentlemen one by one, and put out his Hand to them at a Distance, by way of Congratulation; and then we were conducted back again after the same Manner.'

Inter-regnum.

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Thus much for the Formalities observed by our Lord Protector, at the first Audience given to the *Dutch* Ambassadors. A few Days after they acquainted his Highness, that all their Provinces had consented to the Articles of Peace, and had empowered them to ratify the same. They also desired an immediate Cessation of Hostilities. The Protector, however, was determin'd to make Peace Sword in Hand; and therefore went on vigorously in his Preparations for Sea, by pressing of Mariners, and ordering Land-Forces on board the Ships. Nor were the *Dutch* wholly inactive; for, on the Report from their Ambassadors, finding that the Peace was not yet concluded, they ordered their Admirals to repair to *Amsterdam*, to take Care their Fleet should be in readiness for Action: However, all these Naval Preparations came to nothing; for,

on the 5th of *April*, Articles of Peace were sign'd by the *English* and *Dutch* Commissioners, to be ratified by their Principals in fifteen Days, which was done accordingly; the most material of which were these ^P:

By the 7th and subsequent Articles, it was agreed that the Enemies of the respective Nations should not be protected by either of them; but there was no Provision made, by this Treaty, for the Coalescence

^P These Articles are printed at large in *Cromwell's* A&O and Ordinances, p. 106, et seq.

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lescence so much insisted upon during the Administration of Affairs by the Long Parliament.

By the 13th, the Duty of striking the Flag to the *English*, in the narrow Seas, was acknowledged^q.

By the 27th Article, Provision was made for bringing those to Justice, who had been concern'd in the bloody Massacre of the *English* at *Amboyna*, for which the two last Kings could never obtain any Satisfaction.

By the 28th, the *Dutch* undertook to reimburse to the *English* Merchants the Losses they had sustained by the Seizure of 22 Ships in *Denmark*.

There was also a secret Article in this Treaty, which must allay the Joy of one considerable Party in *Holland*, for utterly excluding the Family of the House of *Orange*, from ever being Stadtholder of the United Provinces.

Soon after this Peace was proclaim'd, both in *England* and the *Low Countries*, with great Ceremony and Rejoicing; and was so grateful to the *Dutch* in general, that they struck three Medals on the Occasion^r: Nor was this Peace less acceptable to the Protector, as appears by the following De-

^q Mr. Ludlow writes, That the *Dutch* also promised to comply with the late Act of Parliament, whereby all foreign Commodities were forbidden to be brought into *England*, but in *English* Bottoms, except by such Vessels as properly belong'd to that Country where those Commodities should grow: But there is no express Mention of the Navigation Act in the Articles published by Cromwell's Printer. In the 12th, which relates to mutual Trade and Intercourse between the two Commonwealths, there is indeed a general Saving of all the Laws and Ordinances of each respectively.

^r These Medals represented,

1. *Neptune* on a Car, drawn by two Sea-Horses. The Shields of Arms of *England* and *Holland*, borne on his Knees; on each Side of him a *Triton* swimming; and on the Top a *Caduceus*, which supports *Mercury's* wing'd Hat between two Branches of Palm.

Round the Medal is a Verse from *Terence*, alter'd thus,

Aurantium Iræ Amicitiae Redintegratio est.

On the Reverse was this Inscription in *Dutch*,

In Memory of the Peace, Union, and solemn Confederacy concluded at Westminster, April 15, between his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces;

of

Declaration of his Highness, for setting a-part a public Day of Thanksgiving on that Account, which was in hæc Verba :

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‘ **T**HAT this hath been a Nation of Blessings, in the Midst whereof so many Wonders have been brought forth by the outstretched Arm of the Almighty, even to Astonishment and Wonder, who can deny ? Ask we the Nations of this Matter, and they will testify : And indeed the Dispensations of the Lord have been as if he had said, *England*, Thou art my First-born, my Delight amongst the Nations ; under the whole Heavens the Lord hath not dealt so with any Nation round about us.

A Thanksgiving-Day appointed thereupon.

‘ The Lord having added another Link to this Golden Chain of his Loving-kindness, by giving us a Peace with our Neighbours, the United Provinces, (whereby he hath not only stopped a great

‘ Issue of which the Ratifications were duly exchanged by both Parties, May 2, and published the 27th of the same Month, in the Year 1654, (N. S.)

2. Two Women sitting, jointly supporting a Hat as an Emblem of the Liberty of the two Republics. The *English* Dame bears on her Knees a Harp, and the *Dutch* has a Belgic Lion couching at her Feet.

*Mentibus unitis priscus procul absit Amorum,
Pileæ ne subito parta Cruore ruant.*

ON the EXERGUE.

Conclusa decimo quinto Aprilis, Anno 1654.

REVERSE.

Two Ships, one carrying the Colours of *Holland*, and the other that of the States.

*Luxuriat gemino Nexu tranquilla Salo Res,
Excipit unanimes totius Orbis Amor.*

3. The Figures of Peace and Justice, with their Emblems.

Hæ mibi erunt Artes.

REVERSE.

Quod sælix faustumque sit. Post atrox Bellum, quod inter Anglicæ Belgicæque Reipublicæ Rectores, bis frustra tentatis Pacis Conditionibus, Anno 1652 exarsit, in quo maximis utrinque Classibus, sex Septentrionali, duo Mediterraneo Mari, pugnata sunt cruenta Prælia, Dei Optimi Maximi Beneficio, Auspiciis Olivarii, Magnæ Britannicæ Protectoris, Fæderati Belgii Ordinum, Pax cum antiquo Pædere restituta ; cujus optimæ Rerum in Memoriam sempiternæ Senatus Populusque Amstelodamensis hoc Monumentum fieri curant.

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‘ Issue of Blood, but we trust also given us Hearts
 ‘ to unite our Blood and Strength for the mutual
 ‘ Defence of each other) calls for great Returns of
 ‘ Thanks for the same.

‘ It is therefore thought fit to set a-part *Tuesday*,
 ‘ being the 23d of this present *May*, as a Day for
 ‘ Praise, and for the thankful Acknowledgment of
 ‘ this Blessing of Peace, which we hope hath, in
 ‘ the Womb of it, many other Blessings.

‘ And let us not forget our other Mercies : Was
 ‘ not the Earth lately so unusually parch’d up, that
 ‘ it threaten’d Famine, and did cause the Beast of
 ‘ the Field to mourn for want of Food and Wa-
 ‘ ter to sustain it ? And hath not the Lord so wa-
 ‘ tered the Earth, that he hath turned those Fears
 ‘ into the Expectation of the greatest Plenty that
 ‘ ever was seen by any now living in this Nation ?
 ‘ Consider we also the Way whereby the Lord im-
 ‘ parted this Mercy to us : Did any amongst us
 ‘ foreknow it was coming ? Was it not by stirring
 ‘ up our Hearts to seek the same by Prayer ; and
 ‘ that immediately before the Lord vouchsafed us
 ‘ this Mercy ? And doth not this bespeak

1. ‘ That the Manner of conveying this Mercy,
 ‘ is the best Part of the Mercy ?

2. ‘ That the Lord has not cast us off ; that
 ‘ his Spirit yet strives with us ; that he hath a
 ‘ People of his Love amongst us ; and loves the
 ‘ Nation so far, as to provoke it to be in love with
 ‘ calling upon the Name of the Lord for better
 ‘ Things than Corn and Wine ?

3. ‘ That he knows best how and when to an-
 ‘ swer the Expectation of the Husbandman, and
 ‘ when to hear even the Mourning of the Brute
 ‘ Beast, who will yet much more hear the Desires
 ‘ of them that fear him, and that in the fittest Sea-
 ‘ son.

4. ‘ That the Heavens having thus declared the
 ‘ Glory of God, and the Earth answering there-
 ‘ unto in its Fruitfulness, why should not we be
 ‘ melted and softened, humbling ourselves under
 ‘ these marvellous Kindnesses, and abounding unto
 ‘ all

‘ all Fruitfulness in every good Word and Work
 ‘ of Love? And if every Place hath been made
 ‘ Partaker of his Showers, why should not we,
 ‘ laying aside our Differences, be enlarged also each
 ‘ to other?

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5. ‘ That seeing the Lord hath been thus uni-
 ‘ versal in this Mercy, why should we not univer-
 ‘ sally turn from the National Evils and vain Prac-
 ‘ tices, which yet are too superstitiously and custo-
 ‘ marily exercised amongst us; which we need not
 ‘ repeat here, because they are too well known,
 ‘ and we trust will be remembered by those godly
 ‘ Ministers who shall be called to preach unto the
 ‘ People upon this Occasion? Conclude we with
 ‘ the Words of *David* in the 107th Psalm, from the
 ‘ 30th. to the last Verse, *Then are they glad, &c.*

Given at Whitehall this 9th of May, 1654.

J. THURLOE.

It may be ask’d what was become of the King of Scots all this Time? What we learn concerning him is, that he was still at *Paris*; but had no Encouragement to stay in that Court, because the *French* were very desirous of a Peace with *England*, and had actually sent over the *Sieur De Bourdeaux-Neufville*, and the *Baron De Baas*, to treat for that Purpose. There was a Report, at this Time, of a Match between the King and the Duke of *Lorraine*’s Daughter, with a Portion of Four Millions, and a Promise of her Father’s Assistance towards his Restoration: But this proved all Chimeras; and though there was a considerable Party of his Friends up in the Highlands, under the young Marquis of *Montrose* and Lieutenant-General *Middleton*, their Efforts proved all in vain, and the unfortunate *Charles* was now in as desperate a State as ever.

About this Time it was, as a modern elegant Historian observes¹, ‘ That there was no King in *Europe* that acted on his own Authority. Cardi-

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nal

¹ *Le Siècle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire.*

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nal *Mazarine* governed both *France* and its young King absolutely. *Don Louis de Haro* did the same in *Spain* by *Philip* the Fourth; neither of these Kings being then so much as mentioned in the World. Only *Christina*, Queen of *Sweden*, maintained a little Authority in her Dominions, though abandon'd, or despis'd, or unknown, by other States. *Charles* the Second was then a Fugitive in *France*, with his Mother and Brothers, all their Misfortunes still attending them; whilst a Subject had usurped the Royal Power, and had entirely brought three Kingdoms under his Yoke. *Cromwell*, our Author adds, would not take the Title of King, because, says he, the *English* knew how to limit that Power, but were ignorant in that of a Protectorship.'

We cannot better shew the present Happiness of *Cromwell*, and the fair Prospect he had of its Continuance, than as summ'd up by two of his Enemies.

And the flourishing Condition of *Cromwell's*;

'The Protector, says Lord *Clarendon*^k, had now nothing to do but at home: *Holland* had accepted Peace on his own Terms; *Portugal* had bought it at a full Price; and upon an humble Submission; *Denmark* was contented with such an Alliance as he was pleas'd to make with them; *France* and *Spain* contended, by their Ambassadors, which should render themselves most acceptable to him; *Scotland* lay under a heavy Yoke by the first Government of *Moucke*, who, after the Peace with the *Dutch*, was sent back to govern that Province, which was reduced under the Government of the *English* Laws; and their Kirk and Kirkmen entirely subdued to the Obedience of the State, with Reference to Assemblies, or Synods; and *Ireland* so confessedly conquer'd that his younger Son, *Henry*, whom he sent thither as his Lieutenant of that Kingdom, lived in the full Grandeur of that Office.' Mr. *Ludlow*^l adds, 'That *Cromwell* was Master of a considerable Army and a powerful Fleet; all the Soldiers fully paid, with a Month's Advance;

the

the Stores sufficiently supplied with all Provisions for Sea and Land; 300,000*l.* of ready Money in *England*, and 150,000*l.* in the Treasury of *Ireland*, all at his Controul.' His Power thus established in the three Nations, as well as his Title recognized by foreign Princes, the Protector went on swimmingly in his high Office; and, if not loved in it, he, at least, made himself to be feared by all Sorts of People. By the Instrument of Government he and his Council had a Power of raising Money during the Intervals of Parliament: And accordingly they pass'd an Ordinance for continuing the Monthly Assessment of 120,000*l.* for the Maintenance of the Army and Navy till *Michaelmas*, and 90,000*l.* a-month to *Christmas*, ensuing.

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Who passes an Ordinance for continuing the Monthly Assessment for maintaining his Forces,

Things went on in this Manner till *June*, when it was thought proper to call a Parliament upon the new Model prescribed by the Instrument of Government. The Writs for that Purpose were issued out by the Lord Protector on the 1st of this Month; and, by an Order of Council, blank printed Copies of the Indentures between the Sheriffs, &c. and the Electors, were sent to the several Returning Officers, to prevent their making use of any other Form. An Ordinance was soon after published for the Distribution of Elections for *Scotland* and *Ireland*; each Nation being to send 30 Members, who were to sit and vote in this *English* Convention.

And issues out Writs, in his own Name, for calling a Parliament.

The Writ and Indenture above-mentioned were in hæc Verba:

OLIVER, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, as it was publicly declared at *Westminster*, *December* 16, 1653,

To the Sheriff of Greeting.

FOR divers weighty and urgent Affairs concerning Us and the State and Defence of the said

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June.

Commonwealth, We, by the Advice and Assent of Our Council, have ordained a Parliament to be held at Our City of Westminster, the third Day of September next coming; there to consult and advise with the Knights, Citizens, and Burgessees of the said Commonwealth.

We do therefore command you, firmly injoining that, Proclamation being made of the Day and Place aforesaid in every Market-Town within your County, you cause to be freely and indifferently chosen, by them who shall be present at such Election, of the most fit and discreet Persons to serve as Knights, with their Swords girt, for the County of ; and for the Boroughs of Burgessees, of the more discreet and sufficient Sort. And the Names of the same Knights and Burgessees so to be chosen, whether they be present or absent, that you cause to be incerted in certain Indentures, thereupon to be made between you and them who shall be present at such Choice; and that you cause them to come at the Day and Place aforesaid, (so that the said Knights severally may have full and sufficient Power for themselves and the People of that County; and the said Burgessees severally for the People of the Boroughs aforesaid) to do and consent unto those Things which, then and there, by Common Counsel of the said Commonwealth in Parliament, by God's Blessing, shall be ordained upon the weighty Affairs aforesaid; so that, for Defect of such-like Power, or by reason of improvident Choice of the Knights and Burgessees aforesaid, the said Affairs may not remain undone in anywise.

And We will that neither You, or any other Sheriff of the said Commonwealth, be in anywise chosen. And that the said Choice, distinctly and openly so to be made, you certify to Us in Our Chancery under your Seal, and the Seals of them that shall be present at such Choice; sending unto Us the other Part of the said Indentures annexed, with this Our Writ. And in your Proceedings, and Execution hereof, We will that you pursue and observe the several Directions limited,

limited, appointed, and prescribed by the Govern-
ment aforesaid. Inter-regnum.
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Witness Ourself at *Westminster*, the first Day of
June, in the Year of our Lord 1654,

June.

LENTHALL.

The Form of an INDENTURE between the Sheriff
and the Electors of Persons to serve in Parlia-
ment for Counties.

THIS Indenture, made the Day of
in the Year of our Lord 1654, at , in
the County of , between
Sheriff of the County aforesaid, of the one Part, and
C. D. E. F. G. H. and divers other Persons quali-
fied and capable to elect Members to serve in Par-
liament for Counties, as is prescribed in the Go-
vernment of the Commonwealth of England, Scot-
land, and Ireland, witnesseth, That Proclamation
having been made in every Market-Town in the
County aforesaid, within ten Days after the Receipt
of a certain Writ of the Lord Protector to the afore-
said Sheriff directed, and to one Part of these In-
dentures annexed, for the Election of Knights,
fit and discreet Persons of the County aforesaid, for
the Parliament of the said Lord Protector, in the
Writ aforesaid specified to be chosen, and to be at the
Parliament of the said Lord Protector at West-
minster, in the County of Middlesex, the third Day
of September next to be held; the aforesaid C. D.
E. F. G. H. &c. and divers other Persons of the
County aforesaid, who were present at such Election,
freely and indifferently have chosen Knights,
girt with Swords; that is to say, A. B. &c. to be
in the Parliament aforesaid, as in the said Writ is
mentioned; who for themselves, as also for all the
People of the County aforesaid, have full and suffi-
cient Power to do and consent unto those Things
which, in the aforesaid Parliament, shall, then and
there, by common Consent and Counsel, happen to be
ordained.

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Provided, and it is hereby declared, That the Persons so chosen shall not have Power to alter the Government as it is now settled in one single Person and a Parliament.

In witness whereof as well the Seal of Office of the said Sheriff, as also the Seals of the Electors aforesaid, the Day, Year, and Place aforesaid, to these Indentures are put and affix'd.

The Form of the Indenture between the Sheriff and the Burgeses and Inhabitants of Boroughs, was to the same Effect as that for the Counties, *mutatis mutandis.*

July. There had been a Cavalier Plot discovered; in which, as was said, the Protector was to be taken off by Assassination or otherways. Several Persons were apprehended thereupon, and examined by *Cromwell* and his Council, and soon after tried before the High Court of Justice; amongst whom Mr. *John Gerard* and Mr. *Peter Vowell* were condemned, and, on the 10th of this Month, executed for it.

A Plot for assassinating him.

On the same Day was beheaded Don *Pantaleon Sa*, Brother to the Ambassador of *Portugal*, for a Riot and Murder in *Cornhill*; and though much Interest was made to the Protector for his Life, yet no Intreaties could prevail upon him to wave, what Lord *Clarendon* styles an exemplary Piece of Justice.

Soon after the Execution above-mention'd, there was published, by Authority of the Government, a Narrative of this Conspiracy against *Cromwell*^m: A short Extract of the Plan thereof, which is very slightly pass'd over by the Contemporary Writers, will be no improper Digression.

‘ The

^m It bears this Title, *A true Account of the late bloody and inhuman Conspiracy against his Highness the Lord Protector and this Commonwealth, for the Subversion of the present Government thereof, and involving this Nation in Blood. Manifested by the Examinations and Confessions, upon Oath, of some of the principal Conspirators themselves; as also by the Depositions of several Witnesses which were taken concerning the same. Published by special Command.—Printed by Thomas Newcomb, in Thames-street, over-against Baynard's Castle, 1654.*

‘ The Parties in this Conspiracy, consisting of many Thousands, were to have been disposed to their several Posts : The Parts they intended to act were, to have seized upon the Horse-Guard at the *Mews*, and there to have mounted the Troopers own Horses ; to have seized also upon the Foot-Guard at *St. James’s*, and upon *Whitehall* and the Tower of *London* ; as also upon all the Horses in the Stables and Pastures in and about *London*, and fifteen Miles round, which were to be drawn all into a form’d Body ; and at the same Time to have had considerable Parties ready to have fallen upon the Guards at *Islington* and in *Southwark* ; to have secured *London*, let down the Portcullisses, and then, by raising of Apprentices, and firing the City in several Places, to have prevented all Assistance. Their Intent was likewise to have seized on the Person of his Highness the Lord Protector with a Party of Horse, upon a *Saturday* as he was going to *Hampton-Court*, and to have murdered him. Together with him they intended to have cut off the Council in general, or as many of them as they could have got into their Power. And if these Things could not have been effected in the Way to *Hampton-Court*, then to have attempted his Highness and the Council in the Chapel at *Whitehall*, or as they were sitting in Council. Next to have seized on the Lord Mayor, and to have made him proclaim *Charles Stuart* by the Name of *Charles the Second* : And this to have been done at one Instant of Time. Col. *Finch* was to have commanded the Party intended for *London* ; John *Gerard* that Party that was to have fallen upon *Whitehall* and the Protector ; *Henryhaw* that upon the *Mews* ; Col. *Deane* that upon *St. James’s* ; *Thomas Maybart* and other Persons were to have fallen upon Col. *Ingoldsby’s* Regiment in *Southwark* ; *Peter Vowell*, one *Dayle* an Innkeeper, and some others, upon the Guards at *Holborn* and *Islington*.

‘ The Stroke having been thus given in and about *London*, divers Regiments of Horse and

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Hheads of the
Plan thereof.

‘ Foot

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Foot were to have risen in several Parts of the Nation; so that, by this Means, both City and Country must have been involved again in Blood. For the Execution of all which Major *Henshaw*, and *John Wiseman*, his Half Brother, went into *France*, to receive a Commission from *Charles Stuart*; where the said *Henshaw* had Conference with the said *Charles Stuart*, the Lord *Ormond*, and Sir *Edward Hyde* about it; so also had *John Gerard*, and received Directions to proceed in it: And though they returned at first only with a verbal Commission, yet they had afterwards one in Writing from the said *Charles Stuart*ⁿ. This was the Sum of the Business, which was first to have been begun by Persons of lesser Consideration; and then, afterwards, more eminent Persons were to have engaged in it openly.

But to return to Parliamentary Matters:—

On the 27th of this Month Lists were returned to the Protector and his Council, with the Names of those who were elected to serve as Members, in the next Convention, for the several Shires,

ⁿ In *Thurloe's State Papers*, Vol. II. p. 248, is a Copy of a kind of Proclamation from the King, dated at *Paris*, May 3, 1654, offering a Reward of 500*l.* per Ann. and a full Pardon, also the Honour of Knighthood, and farther Preferment, to any Person whatever, (except the late Speaker *Lenthall*, President *Bradshaw*, and Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*) who should by Pistol, Sword, Poison, or any other Means, destroy *Oliver Cromwell*; wherein it is styled an Act acceptable to God and good Men, to cut off so detestable a Villain from the Face of the Earth. In the same Volume, p. 248, *et seq.* are Copies of many of the Examinations, Confessions, &c. of the Persons apprehended for this Plot: But

Lord *Clarendon*, in his Account of this Conspiracy, not only clears Mr. *Gerard* and *Perswell* from having any Hand in it, but affirm, That the King was overruled to any Rising in his Favour; charging his Friends to be quiet, and not engage themselves in any Plot, as being only what would prove ruinous to themselves, and do him no Service.

History, Vol. VI. p. 491.

Mr. *Carte* treats this Affair as a sham Plot, and a meer Contrivance of Major *Henshaw*, one of *Cromwell's* Spies, in order to furnish the Protector with a more plausible Pretence for persecuting the Royalists.—But this Writer produces no Authority for his Assertion,

Carte, Vol. IV. p. 662.

Shires, Cities and Boroughs, in England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland, as follows :

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The Names of
the Members
who constituted
Cromwell's se-
cond Parliament,

BEDFORDSHIRE.

Sir William Boteler, Knt.
John Harvey, Esq;
Edm. Wingate, Esq;
John Neal, Esq;
Samuel Bedford, Esq;
Bedford Town.
Bulstrode Whitlocke, one
of the Lords Commis-
sioners of the Great
Seal.

BERKSHIRE.

George Purefoy, Esq;
Edm. Dunch, Esq;
Sir Robert Pye, Knt.
John Dunch, Esq;
John Southby, Esq;
Abingdon.
Thomas Holt, Esq;
Reading.
Robert Hammond, Esq;

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Bulstrode Whitlocke, one
of the Lords Commis-
sioners of the Great
Seal.
Sir Richard Pigot, Knt.
Richard Ingoldsby, Esq;
Richard Grenville, Esq;
George Fleetwood, Esq;
Buckingham Town.
Francis Ingoldsby, Esq;
Aylesbury.
Henry Phillips, Esq;
Chipping-Wycombe.
Thomas Scott, of Lann-
beth, Esq;

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

John Desborough, Esq;
Francis Russel, Esq;
Henry Pickering, Esq;
Robert Castel, Esq;
Cambridge Town.
Richard Timbs, Ald.
Cambridge University.
Lord Henry Cromwell.
Ile of Ely.
John Thurloe, Esq; Se-
cretary of State.
George Glapthorn, Esq;

CHESHIRE.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant
at Law, Chief Justice
of Chester.
Sir George Bosth, Bart.
Henry Brooke, of Nor-
ton, Esq;
John Crew, of Ukinton,
Esq;
Chester City.

Charles Whalley, Esq;

CORNWALL.

Thomas Gewen, of Brad-
ridge, Esq;
Anthony Nichol, of Pen-
rose, Esq;
Thomas Ceely, of Trevi-
sham, Esq;
Richard Carter, of Co-
lomb-Major, Esq;
Anthony Rouse, of Woot-
ton, Esq;
James Launce, of Pen-
nare, Esq;

Walter

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Walter Moyle, of Bake,
Esq;

Charles Boscawen, of
Tregothan, Esq;
Launceston.

Robert Bennet, Esq;
Truro.

Francis Rouse, Esq;
Penryn.

John Fox, Esq;
Eastflow and Westflow.
Major John Blackmore.

CUMBERLAND.
Charles Howard, Esq;
William Briscoe, Esq;
Carlisle City.
Col. Thomas Fitch.

DERBYSHIRE.
Nathaniel Barton, Esq;
Thomas Sanders, Esq;
Edward Gill, Esq;
John Gell, Esq;
Derby Town.
Gervase Bennet, Esq;

DEVONSHIRE.
Robert Rolle, Esq;
Arthur Upton, Esq;
Thomas Reynell, Esq;
William Morris, Esq;
John Hale, Esq;
William Bastard, Esq;
William Fry, Esq;
Thomas Sanders, Esq;
Sir John Northcot, Bart.
Henry Hatsel, Esq;
John Quick, Esq;
Exeter City.
Thomas Bampffield, Esq;
Thomas Gibbons, Esq;

Plymouth.

Christopher Ceely, Mer-
chant.

William Yeo, Esq;
Clifton, Dartmouth,
Hardnefs.

Thomas Boen, of Ton-
stall, Esq;
Totnefs.

John Desborough, Esq;
one of the Generals
at Sea.

Barnstable.

John Dodderidge, Esq;
Tiverton.

Rob. Shapcot, of Broad-
mersh, Esq;
Honiton.

Sir John Young, Knt.

DORSETSHIRE.

William Sydenham, Esq;
John Bingham, Esq;
Sir Walter Earle, Knt.
John Fitz-James, Esq;
John Trenchard, Esq;
Henry Henley, Esq;

Dorchester.

John Whiteway, Esq;
Weymouth and Mel-
comb-Regis.
Dennis Boud, Esq;
Lyme-Regis.
Edmund Prideaux, Esq;
Attorney-General.

Poole.

Sir Anthony Ashley Cos-
per, Bart.

DURHAM.

Col. Robert Lilburne, of
Thickley-Punchardon.

George

George Lilburne, of *Sunderland*, Esq;
Durham City.
Anthony Smith, *Mercer*.

ESSEX.

Sir Will. Masbam, Bart.
Sir Rich. Everard, Bart.
Sir Tho. Honeywood, Kt.
Sir Thomas Bowes, Knt.
Henry Mildmay, of *Graces*, Esq;
Thomas Coke, of *Pedmarsh*, Esq;
Col. Carew Mildmay.
Sir Samuel Sleigh, Knt.
Dionysius Wakering, Esq;
Edward Turner, Esq;
Richard Cutts, Esq;
Oliver Raymond, Esq;
Herbert Pelham, Esq;
Malden.
Col. Joachim Matthews.
Colchester.
Col. John Barkstead,
Lieutenant of the Tower.
John Maidstone, Esq;

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

George Berkeley, Esq;
Matthew Hale, one of the *Justices of the Common Bench*.
John How, Esq;
Christopher Guise, Esq;
Sylvanus Wood, Esq;
Gloucester City.
William Lenthall, Esq;
Master of the Rolls.
Thomas Pary, sen. Esq;

Tewksbury.

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Bart.
Cirencester.

John Stone, of *Friday-street*, *London*, Esq;

HEREFORDSHIRE.

John Scudamore, Esq;
John Pateshal, Esq;
John Flacket, Esq;
Richard Read, Esq;
Hereford City.

Bennet Hoskins, Esq;
Leominster.

John Birch, Esq;

HERTFORDSHIRE.

Henry Laurence, Lord
President of his Highness's Council.

William Earl of Salisbury.

Sir John Wittewrong,
Knt.

Sir Richard Lucy, Knt.
and Bart.

Thomas Nicholl, Esq;
St. Albans.

Alban Cox, Esq;
Hertford.

Isaac Pulter, Esq;

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

Edward Montague, Esq;
one of his Highness's Council.

Henry Cromwell, jun. of
Ramsay, Esq;

Stephen Pheasant, of *Upwood*, Esq;

Hunt-

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Huntingdon Town.

John Bernard, Esq;

KENT.

William James, Esq;

Col. John Dixwell.

John Boys, of *Bettishanger*, Esq;

Sir Henry Vane, sen. Kt.

Col. Ralph Weldon.

Lambert Godfrey, Esq;

Col. Richard Beal.

Lt. Col. Henry Oxenden.

Augustine Skinner, Esq;

Daniel Shatterden, Esq;

John Seyliard, jun. Esq;

Canterbury City.

Thomas Scott, Esq;

Francis Butcher, Esq;

Rocheſter City.

John Parker, Esq; Recorder.

Maidſtone.

John Banks, jun. Gent.

Queenborough.

Augustine Garland, Esq;

LANCASHIRE.

Richard Holland, Esq;

Gilbert Ireland, Esq;

Rich. Standiſh, of *Duckſbury*, Esq;

William Aſhurſt, Esq;

Preſton.

Rich. Shuttleworth, Esq;

LANcaſter.

Henry Porter, Esq;

Liverpool.

Thomas Birch, ſen. Esq;

Mancheſter.

Charles Worſley, of the

Plat, Esq;

LEICESTERSHIRE.

Thomas Beaumont, Esq;

Henry Earl of Stamford.

Thomas Lord Grey, of *Grooby*.

Thomas Pochin, Esq;

Leiceſter Town.

Sir Arthur Haſelrigge, of

Noſeley, in the County of *Leiceſter*, Bart.

William Stanley, Gent.

and Alderman of the Borough.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

Edward Roſſiter, Esq;

Thomas Hall, Esq;

Thomas Liſter, Esq;

Charles Hall, Esq;

Francis Clinton, alias

Fiennes, Esq;

Thomas Hatcher, Esq;

William Woolley, Esq;

William Saville, Esq;

William Welby, Esq;

John Wray, Esq;

Lincoln City.

William Maſhball, Alderman.

Origen Peart, Alderman.

Boston.

William Ellis, Esq;

Grantham.

William Bury, ſen. Esq;

Stamford.

John Weaver, Esq;

Great-Grimſby.

William Wray, Esq;

MIDDLESEX.

Sir William Roberts, Kt.

Joſiah

Josiah Berners, Esq;
Sir James Harrington,
 Knt. and Bart.

Edm. Harvey, Esq;

Westminster City.

Thomas Latham, Esq;
Tho. Fauconbridge, Esq;

London City.

Thomas Foot, Alderman.
William Steel, Serjeant
 at Law, Recorder.

Thomas Adams, Esq;

John Langham, Esq;

Samuel Avery, Esq;

Andrew Riccard, Esq;

MONMOUTHSHIRE.

Richard Lord Cromwell.
Col. Philip Jones, one of
 his Highness's Coun-
 cil.

Henry Herbert, Esq;

NORFOLK.

Sir John Hobart, Bart.

Sir William Doyley, Knt.

Sir Ralph Hare, Bart.

Thomas Weld, Esq;

Robert Wilton, Esq;

Thomas Sotberton, Esq;

Philip Woodhouse, Esq;

Robert Wood, sen. Esq;

Philip Bedingsfeld, sen.
 Esq;

Tobias Frere, Esq;

Norwich City.

Bernard Church, Esq;

John Hobart, Esq;

Lynn-Regis.

Philip Skippen, one of his
 Highness's Council.

Guion Goddard, Esq;
 Recorder.

Great-Yarmouth.

Col. William Goffe.

Thomas Dunn, Gent.

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NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bt.
 one of his Highness's
 Council.

John Crew, sen. Esq;

Sir John Norwich, Knt.
 and Bart.

John Cleypole, sen. Esq;

Sir John Dryden, Bart.

Thomas Brook, Esq;

Peterborough City.

Alexander Blake, Esq;

Northampton Town.

Peter Whalley, Gent.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

William Fenwick, of

Wallington, Esq;

Robert Fenwick, of Bed-
 lington, Esq;

Henry Ogle, of Egling-
 ham, Esq;

Newcastle upon Tyne.

Sir Arth. Haselrigge, Bt.

Berwick upon Tweed.

Geo. Fenwick, of Brenk-
 born, in the County of
 Northumberland, Esq;

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

William Pierrepont, Esq;

Edward Whalley, Esq;

Edward Nevill, Esq;

Charles White, Esq;

Nottingham Town.

James Chadwick, Esq;

John Mason, Gent.

Ox-

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OXFORDSHIRE.

Robert Jenkinson, Esq;
Charles Fleetwood, Lieutenant-General of Ireland.

Col. *James Whitlocke*.
Nathaniel Fiennes, Esq;
William Lenthall, Esq;
 Oxford City.

Bulstrode Whitlocke, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal.

Oxford University.

John Owen, D. D.

Woodstock.

Lieut. Gen. *Charles Fleetwood*.

RUTLANDSHIRE.

William Shield, Esq;
Edward Horsfman, Esq;

SHROPSHIRE.

Humphrey Mackworth, sen. Esq;

Thomas Mitton, Esq;
Robert Corbet, of Stewarden, Esq;

Philip Young, Esq;

Shrewsbury.

Richard Cheshire, Gent.

Humphrey Mackworth, jun. Gent.

Bruges, alias Bridge-north.

William Crown, Esq;

Ludlow.

John Aston, Gent.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

Sir *John Horner*, Knt.*John Buckland*, Esq;Gen. *John Desborough*.*John Preston*, Esq;*John Harrington*, Esq;*John Ash*, Esq;*Charles Steynings*, Esq;*Robert Long*, Esq;*Richard Jones*, Esq;*Thomas Hippefley*, Esq;*Samuel Perry*, Esq;

Bristol City.

Robert Aldworth, Esq;*Miles Jackson*, Esq;

Bath City.

Col. *Alexander Popham*,
 of Honistreet.

Wells City.

Lislebone Long, Esq;

Taunton.

Thomas Gorges, Esq;*John Gorges*, Esq;

Bridgwater.

Col. *Robert Blake*.

SOUTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Richard Lord Cromwell:*Richard Noxton*, Esq;*Richard Major*, Esq;*John St. Barbe*, Esq;*Robert Wallop*, Esq;*Francis Rivet*, Esq;*Edward Hooper*, Esq;*John Bulkley*, Esq;

Winchester City.

John Hildesley, Esq;

Southampton Town.

John Lisle, one of the
 Lords Commissioners
 of the Great Seal, and
 Recorder.

Portf-

Portsmouth Town.
Nathaniell Whetham, Esq;
Andover.

John Dowse, of Hursley,
Esq;

Isle of Wight.

Col. William Sydenham,
one of his Highness's
Council.

John Lisle, one of the
Lords Commissioners
of the Great Seal.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

Sir Charles Wolseley, Bart.
Thomas Crompton, Esq;
Thomas Whitgrave, Esq;
Lichfield City.

Thomas Minors, Esq;
Stafford.

John Bradyshaw, Serjeant
at Law.

Newcastle under Line.
Edward Keeling, Gent.

SUFFOLK.

Sir Thomas Barnardiston,
Knt.

Sir William Spring, Bart.
Sir Thomas Beddingfield,
Knt.

William Bloys, Esq;
John Gurdon, Esq;
William Gibbs, Esq;
John Brandling, Esq;
Alexander Bence, Esq;
John Sicklemore, Esq;
Thomas Bacon, Esq;
Ipswich.

Nathaniel Bacon, Esq;
Francis Bacon, Esq;

St. Edmundsbury.
Samuel Moody, Esq;
John Clark, Esq;
Dunwich.

Rob. Brewster, of Wren-
tham, Esq;

Sudbury.
John Fothergill, Esq;

SURREY.

Sir Richard Onslow, Knt.
Major - General John
Lambert.

Arthur Onslow, Esq;
Francis Drake, Esq;
Robert Holman, of Dark-
ing, Esq;
Col. Robert Wood, of
Kingston.

Southwark.

Samuel Highland, Esq;
Robert Warcup, Esq;
Guilford.
Richard Hiller, of Guil-
ford, Gent.

Ryegate.

Edward Bishe, Esq;

SUSSEX.

Herbert Morley, Esq;
John Stapeley, Esq;
John Fagg, Esq;
William Hay, Esq;
John Pelham, Esq;
Anthony Stapeley, Esq;
Sir Thomas Pelham, Bart.
Francis Lord Dacres.
Herbert Sprungat, Esq;
Chichester City.
Henry Peckham, Esq;
Recorder.

Lewes

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Lewes.

Henry Shelley, Esq;

East-Grimsted.

John Goodwin, Esq;

Arundell.

Anthony Shirley, of Pres-
ton, Esq;

WARWICKSHIRE.

Richard Lucy, Esq;

Thomas Willoughby, Esq;

Sir Richard Temple, Bart.

William Purefoy, Esq;

Coventry City.

William Purefoy, Esq;

Robert Beak, Esq;

Warwick Town.

Richard Lucy, Esq;

WESTMORELAND.

Christopher Lister, Esq;

Jeremy Baynes, Esq;

WILTSHIRE.

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper,
Bart.

Alexander Popham, Esq;

Thomas Grove, of Bury-
Court, Esq;

Alex. Thistlethwait, Esq;

Francis Hollis, Esq;

John Ernly, of Bury
Town, Esq;

William Yorke, Esq;

John Norden, Esq;

James Ash, Esq;

Gabriel Martin, Esq;

New Sarum City.

Edward Tooker, Esq;

William Stevens, Esq;

Recorder there.

Marlborough.

Lieut. Gen. Charles Fleet-
wood.

Devises.

Edward Baynton, Esq;

WORCESTERSHIRE.

Sir Thomas Rous, Knt.
and Bart.

Edward Pitt, Esq;

Nicholas Lechmere, Esq;

John Bridges, Esq;

Talbot Badger, Esq;

Worcester City.

William Collins, Esq;

Edward Elvines, Alder-
man.

YORKSHIRE.

West - Riding.

Thomas Lord Fairfax.

John Lambert, Esq; one
of his Highness's
Council.

Henry Tempest, Esq;

John Bright, Esq;

Edward Gell, Esq;

Martin Lister, Esq;

East-Riding.

Sir Will. Strickland, Knt.
and Bart.

Walter Strickland, Esq;
one of his Highness's
Council.

Hugh Bethell, Esq;

Richard Robinson, of
Thicket, Esq;

North-Riding.

George Lord Eure.

Francis Lascelles, Esq;

Thomas Harrison, Esq;

George Smithson, Esq;

York

York City.

Sir Thomas Widdrington,
Knt. one of the Lords
Commissioners of the
Great Seal.

Thomas Dickenson, Al-
derman.

Kingston upon Hull.

William Lister, Esq;

Beverley.

Francis Thorp, one of the
Barons of the Exche-
quer.

Scarborough.

John Wildman, of the
City of Westminster,
Esq;

Richmond.

John Wastal, of Scor-
ton, Esq;

Leeds.

Adam Baynes, of Know-
strop, Esq;

Halifax.

Jeremy Bentley, Gent.

CINQUE PORTS.

Dover.

William Cullen, Esq;

Sandwich.

Lieut. Col. Tho. Kelsey.

Rye.

Herbert Morley, Esq;

W A L E S.

ANGLESEY.

George Twisleton, Esq;

William Foxwist, Esq;

FLINTSHIRE.

John Trevor, Esq;

Andrew Ellis, Esq;

BRECKNOCKSHIRE.

Henry Lord Herbert.

Edmund Jones, Esq;

GLAMORGANSHIRE.

Philip Jones, Esq; one of
his Highness's Coun-
cil.

Edm. Thomas, of Wenro,
Esq;

Cardiffe Town.

John Price, Esq;

CARDIGANSHIRE.

James Phillips, Esq;

Jenkin Lloyd, Esq;

CARMARTHENSHIRE.

John Cleypole, Esq;

Rowland Dawkins, Esq;

MERIONETHSHIRE.

John Vaughan, of Ke-
venbadig, Esq;

CARNARVONSHIRE.

John Glynn, Serjeant at
Law.

Thomas Mostyn, Esq;

MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

Sir John Price, of New-
town, Bart.

Charles Lloyd, of Garth,
Esq;

DENBIGHSHIRE.

Col. Simon Theloall.

Col. John Carter.

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PEMBROKESHIRE.

Haverford-Weſt.

Sir *Erasmus Phillips*, of *John Upton*, Eſq;*Piſton-Cajile*, Bart.

RADNORSHIRE.

Arthur Owen, of *New-*
moate, Eſq;*George Gwyn*, Eſq;
Henry Williams, Eſq;

S C O T L A N D.

S H I R E S.

Inverneſs, Lieutenant-Colonel *William Mitchell*.*Forſar* and *Kinkardine*, Col. *David Barclay*, of
Urie.*Fife* and *Kinroſs*, Col. *James Hay*.*Perth*, George Earl of *Linlithgow*.*Linlithgow*, *Stirling*, and *Clackmannan*, Col. *Tho-*
mas Read, Governor of *Stirling*.*Dunbarton*, *Argyle*, and *Bute*, Sir *James Hamilton*,
of *Ormiſton*.*Lancrk*, Col. *William Lockhart*.*Mid-Lothian*, *George Smith*, Eſq; one of the Judges
of *Scotland*.*Merce*, *John Swinton*, of *Swinton*, Eſq;*Selkirk* and *Peebles*, *John Thompson*, Auditor-Ge-
neral of the Revenues of *Scotland*.*Dumfriess*, Col. *James Earl*, of *Hartſell*.*Wigtoun*, Sir *James MacDowel*, of *Garthland*.*East-Lothian*, Mr. *Benjamin Breſſey*, of *Delphinton*.

CITIES and BOROUGHS.

Edinburgh, *Samuel Deſborough*, one of the Com-
miſſioners for the Revenues, *George Downing*,
Eſq; Scout-Maſter-General.*Forſar*, *Dundee*, *Aberbrothock*, *Montroſe*, and *Bre-*
chin, Sir *Alexander Wedderburn*, of *Blackneſs*,
Knt. Clerk of *Dundee*.*Linlithgow*, *Queen's-Ferry*, *Perth*, *Calroſs*, and
Stirling, Col. *John Oley*.*St. Andrew's*, *Dyſart*, *Kirkaldy*, *Coupar*, *Anſtru-*
ther-Eoſter, *Pittenweem*, *Crail*, *Dunfermline*,
Kinghorn, *Anſtruther-Weller*, *Inverkeithing*, *Kil-*
renny, and *Burnt-Iſland*, *James Sword*, Burgeis
of *St. Andrew's*.

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Lanerk, Glasgow, Rutherglen, Ret'jay, Renfrew, Ayr, Irvin, and Dunbarton, Mr. John Wilkie, of Bromhouse.

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Dumfries, Sanguar, Lochmaben, Annan, Wigtown, Kircudbright, Whitehorn, and Galloway, Major Jeremiah Tollhurst, Burgefs of Dumfries.

*Peebles, Selkirk, Jedburgh, Lauder, North-Berwick, Dunbar, and Haddington, Mr. William Tomp-
son, Burgefs of Haddington.* ^k

I R E L A N D.

C O U N T I E S.

Meath and Lowth, Col. John Fowke, Governor of Drogheda, Major William Cadogan.

Kildare and Wicklow, Major Anthony Morgan, Major William Meredith.

Dublin, Col. John Hewson, of Lutterels Town.

Catharlough, Wexford, Kilkenny, and Queen's County, Col. Thomas Sadler, Col. Daniel Axtell.

West-Meath, Longford, and King's County, Sir Theophilus Jones, Col. Thomas Scott.

Downe, Antrim, and Armagh, Col. Robert Venables, Col. Arthur Hill.

Derry, Donnegal, and Tyrone, Col. John Clarke,

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of

^k By the 9th Article of the Instrument of Government, the Number of Members to sit and serve for Scotland was fix'd at 30, and accordingly Writts were issued out to the Shire of Orkney, Zetland, and Caithness for one; to Sutherland, Ross, and Gornarty, one; to Elgin and Nairn, one; to Banff, one; to Aberdeen, one; to Ayr and Renfrew, one; to Roxburgh, one; and to the Burroughs of Dornoch, Tain, Inverness, Dingwall, Avoon, Elgin, and Forres, one; to Banff, Cullen, and Merdren, one; but it does not appear that more than the above 21 Members were elected. Mr. Whitelcke, in some Measure, accounts for this, by saying, 'That five Sheriffsdoms in Scotland return'd, That not one Person fit to be a Parliament-Man was to be found within their Liberties.' But the Reason of the rest making no Return we cannot account for.

Memorials, p. 581.

^l Mr. Ludlow writes, 'That some of the Commissioners in Ireland were against the Proprietors of Lands choosing Members, lest they should return such as were Enemies to the English Interest; and the afore propos'd that, for this Time, Cromwell and his Council should nominate the Thirty who were to represent the Irish Nation in the English Parliament.' Our *Memorialis*, who was at that Time one of the Commissioners, takes to himself the Merit of designing this Project at, what he calls, the Council Party.

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of Londonderry, *Thomas Newburgh*, of *Lifford*,
in the County of *Donnegal*, Esq;
Cavan, *Fermannagh*, and *Monaghan*, Col. *John Cole*.
Kerry, *Limerick*, and *Clare*, Major-General Sir
Hardress Waller, Col. *Henry Ingoldsfy*.
Cork, *Roger Boyle*, Lord Baron of *Broghill*.
Tipperary and *Waterford*, *John Reynolds*, Commis-
sary-General, *Hierom Sankey*, Esq;
Sligo, *Roscommon*, and *Le Trim*, Sir *Robert King*,
Knt. Sir *John Temple*, Knt.
Galway and *Mayo*, Sir *Charles Coote*, Commissary-
General *John Reynolds*.

CITIES and TOWNS.

Dublin, *Daniel Hutchinson*, Alderman.
Carrickfergus and *Belfast*, Major *Daniel Redman*.
Derry and *Colerane*, *Ralph King*, Esq;
Limerick and *Kilmallock*, *William Purefoy*, Esq;
Cork and *Youghall*, Col. *William Jephson*.
Bandon and *Kingsale*, *Vincent Gookin*, Esq;
Waterford and *Clonmell*, *William Halfey*, Esq;

Having taken Notice of every Thing material
to our Purpose, which happened in the Interval
between the Dissolution of the last Parliament and
the Meeting of the next, we shall conclude it with
an Account of such Ordinances, made and pub-
lished by the Protector and his Council during that
Period, as were most remarkable; and which, to
prevent breaking off the Thread of our History,
were purposely omitted in their respective Series.—
They were these,

Ordinances pas-
sed by the Lord
Protector and his
Council.

An Ordinance relating to *Public Preachers*,
whereby it was enacted, 'That no Person should
thereafter be admitted to a Benefice with Cure of
Souls, or allowed to preach any public Lecture,
without being first approved (as able and fit to
preach the Gospel, by reason of the Grace of God
in him, his holy and unblameable Conversation,
as also for his Knowledge and Utterance) by cer-
tain Commissioners, consisting of Ecclesiastics and
Laymen named in the Act; who were impowered

to

to grant Admission by an Instrument under their Common Seal, which should be deemed as sufficient, to all Intents and Purposes, as Institution and Induction: That all Patrons of Benefices, then vacant, should present within six Months; in Default of which the Presentation, for that Turn, should devolve, by Lapse, to the Lord Protector: But the Power of these Commissioners did not extend to Lectures read in the Universities: And there was an express Proviso, That this Ordinance should not be construed as a solemn setting apart any Person to the Office of the Ministry; but only to be considered as a Means for better supplying the Nation with able Preachers, and to capacitate them to receive the public Maintenance appointed by Law.'

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For declaring all Meetings for Cock-fighting to be unlawful Assemblies, and punishable as such. The Preamble sets forth, 'That this Kind of Diversion had been found, by Experience, to tend to the Disturbance of the Public Peace; was commonly accompanied with Gaming, Drinking, Swearing, Quarrelling, and other dissolute Practices, to the Dishonour of God, and Ruin of Families.'

For Pardon and Grace to the People of Scotland, for all Matters done in relation to the late Wars: Hereby the Estates, Real and Personal, of all the Scots Nation, except certain Lords and Gentlemen named in the Ordinance, were discharged from all Sequestrations, Fines, and Forfeitures whatsoever.

For uniting Scotland into one Commonwealth with England. By this Ordinance the Scots Nation were declared discharged of their Allegiance to the Stuart Family: Monarchy and the Parliamentary Authority of that Nation were abolished; and, as before observed, thirty Representatives were to be sent from thence to sit and vote in the Parliament of England; and the Arms of Scotland were to be empaled with those of the English Commonwealth. All Goods were to pass as free of Customs and Duties between England and Scotland, as they used

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to do from one Part of *England* to another; and Goods prohibited in *England* were to be so in *Scotland*: Taxes to be proportionable; Servitude and Vassalage taken away; Heriots and Fines, on Death or Alienation of Estates, regulated; Superiorities, Lordships, and Jurisdictions abolished; as also Military Services, Casualties, &c. And all Forfeitures to cleave to the Lord Protector for the Time being.

For erecting Courts Baron in Scotland; and vesting in Trustees the Estates of Persons of that Nation excepted from Pardon, for the Public Use: But Provision was first to be made for the Wives and Children, and Creditors of the Persons who had so forfeited.

For bringing the Public Revenues of the Commonwealth into one Treasury: The Reasons given in the Preamble for passing this Ordinance, are, 'That, by such Alteration, the Charges arising by the Multiplicity of Treasuries and Receipts might be reduced, the Persons employed therein brought to a due Account, and the Public Revenues more readily employed, as the Occasions of the Commonwealth might require.' Then it proceeds to enact, 'That all public Money should be paid into the Exchequer at *Westminster*; that for Payments Tolls should be levied and allowed according to the accustomed Course; and Monies issued by such Officers as the Lord Protector should appoint by his Letters Patent, in which the Fees to be taken should be express'd; and any Officer taking more, was to forfeit his Place, and treble the Value of such Fee: No Money was to be issued out of the Exchequer, without a Warrant for that Purpose, under the Great or Privy Seal.'

For preventing Challenges, Duels, and all Proclamations thereto: Hereby it was enacted, 'That if any Person should challenge, or cause to be challenged, or accept, or knowingly carry, a Challenge to fight a Duel, he should be committed to Prison, without Bail for six Months, and give Security for his good Behaviour for one whole Year after:

Persons

Persons challenged, not discovering it in twenty-four Hours, to be deemed Accepters: Fighting a Duel where Death should ensue, to be adjudged Murder: Fighting a Duel upon a preceding Challenge, being a Second, or assisting therein, though Death should not ensue thereupon, to be banished for Life within one Month after Conviction, and in case of Return to suffer Death: Persons using provoking Words, or Gestures, to be indicted; and, if convicted, to be fined, bound to the good Behaviour, and make Reparation to the Party injured, according to his Quality and the Nature of the Offence.

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For better regulating and limiting the Jurisdiction of the High Court of Chancery. The Preamble sets forth the Occasion of this Ordinance to be, 'That all Proceedings touching Relief in Equity might be had with less Trouble, Expence, and Delay than formerly. And, in order thereto, it was enacted, That there should be Sixty Attornies in Chancery, and no more, to be nominated by the Master of the Rolls, and approved by the Commissioners of the Great Seal, who should solicit each Client's Cause for the usual Ternly Fee of 3*s.* 4*d.* only.

'The six Clerks in Chancery were reduced to three Chief Clerks, who had Power to inspect the Conduct of the several Attornies; and, in case of Negligence or Unfaithfulness, to give Damages to the Party wrong'd, and to discharge the Attorney so offending from his Place. And all Bills, Answers, Pleadings, &c. to be filed with that Chief Clerk, to whose Office the Attorney towards the Cause for the Plaintiff respectively belong'd.

'The first Process to be a *Subpoena*, which should be open, and contain as many Defendants as the Plaintiff desired to be inserted therein; paying only 6*d.* for the Seal, and 1*s.* to the Officer.

'If a Counsel wilfully misinform'd the Court of any Matter, in the Pleadings or Evidence, whereby an Order should be obtained, which they might afterwards see Cause to discharge, he was to be openly

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openly reprimanded; and, before he should be suffered to be heard any more at that Bar, to pay 40s. to the Party wrong'd by such Misinformation, and 20s. to the Lord Protector; But if such Misinformation was owing to the Client or Attorney, they to pay 40s. to the Party wrong'd, and be committed by the Court till Payment.

‘ All Causes to be set down for hearing in their Order as published, without preferring one before another; to be so presented by the Chief Clerks, without taking any Fee, and to be heard on the Day set down; and, for that Purpose, the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal to sit every Afternoon, as well as Forenoon, except *Saturdays*.

‘ All Causes to be heard the next Term after Publication; or, if more than could be dispatch'd within that Time, to be heard on certain Days appointed for that Purpose after Term.

‘ No Relief to be had, in Chancery, against a Bond for Payment of Money only; or, in any Case where the Plaintiff was intitled to Relief at Common Law; nor any Decree to be made against an Act of Parliament.

‘ Tables of all the several Fees to be taken by the Master of the Rolls, the Masters in Chancery, *Subpœna* Office, the Chief Clerks and Attornies, the Registers, Examiners, &c. were printed in the Ordinance: And any Person taking more to be deem'd an Extortioner, punished as such, and also disabled to bear any Office of Trust or Profit in the Commonwealth. Amongst these Tables of Fees there were two very remarkable *Items*: That no Counsel, under the Degree of a Serjeant at Law, should receive more than 10s. for a Motion, and 20s. on a Hearing: But the Counsel for the Lord Protector, and Serjeants, were allowed to take double that Fee in both Cases.

‘ It was also enacted, That no Sum of Money, or other Gratuity, should be taken for the Nomination or Admission of Persons to any Office in the Appointment of the Court of Chancery, by the Lord Chancellor, Master of the Rolls, or any other
Su-

Superior Officer; upon Pain of losing his own Place, and paying double the Value of the Money, &c. so received; one Moiety thereof to the Lord Protector, and the other to the Party who should sue for the same.

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These are some of the principal Heads of this very remarkable Ordinance; whereby the whole Practice of the Court of Chancery was, in a great Measure, to be thrown into a new Channel: But as our Design is only to exhibit an historical View of the most interesting Laws made by *Cromwell* and his Council, what has already been offer'd may be sufficient for that Purpose; and the rest we shall pass over with a Reference. ^m

For the Ejection of scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient Ministers and Schoolmasters. Hereby several Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and other Lay-Commissioners, were appointed in every County of *England* and *Wales*, with Authority to call before them any public Preacher or Lecturer, having a legal Stipend, and also all Schoolmasters; to receive Articles of Information against them; upon Conviction, to eject such whom they should find to be within the Description of this Ordinance, and sequester the Revenues of their respective Benefices: The Patron was required to present or nominate, within four Months after such Removal, as if the Incumbent were dead; but the Successor was to be approved by these Commissioners; and, in case of Lapse, the Patronage or Nomination, for that Turn, to devolve to the Lord Protector.— There is indeed one Clause of Mercy in this Ordinance, ‘whereby the Wife and Children of an ejected Minister were to be allow’d one Fifth Share of the neat Produce of the Benefice for his Life:’ But this was more than over-balanced by another cruel Clause, ‘whereby no Minister or Schoolmaster should keep a School in any Place from whence

^m This Ordinance, consisting of sixty-seven Clauses, besides the Tables of Fees, is printed at large in *Scobell's Collections*, and in *Cromwell's Acts and Ordinances*; by referring to which the Reader, who is inclined to compare the Fees then settled, and the Rules of Practice, with those of later Times, may satisfy his Curiosity.

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whence he had been ejected; nor any Person to retain or maintain a Schoolmaster contrary to the Meaning of this Ordinance, under the Penalty of 10s. each, *per Diem*, to the Poor of the Parish.'

'By the Term *scandalous* Ministers and Schoolmasters, was to be understood such as should be proved guilty of holding blasphemous and atheistical Opinionsⁿ; of profane Cursing and Swearing, Perjury or Subornation of Perjury; of holding or teaching Popish Opinions; of committing Adultery, Fornication, or Drunkenness; of common haunting of Taverns or Ale-Houses; frequent quarrelling or fighting; frequent playing at Cards or Dice; profaning of the Sabbath-Day, and allowing or countenancing the same in their Families, Parishioners, or Scholars; of publickly and frequently reading or using the Common Prayer-Book, or of reviling the strict Professors of Religion and Godliness; of encouraging, by Word or Practice, any Whitsun-Ales, Wakes, Morris-Dances, May-Poles, Stage-Plays, or such-like licentious Practices; and, lastly, of declaring, by writing, preaching, or otherwise publishing, their Disaffection to the present Government.

'Such Ministers were to be accounted *negligent*, as omitted the public Exercises of Preaching and Praying upon the Lord's Day, or that were Non-resident upon their Cures; and Schoolmasters who absented themselves from their Schools, or wilfully neglected teaching their Scholars.

'What was to be deem'd *Ignorance* and *Insufficiency* is not defined in the Ordinance: So the Determination thereof was left in the Breast of any five of the Lay Commissioners, taking five Ministers of the same County to their Assistance.'—The partial and barbarous Use made of this discretionary Power vested in these Commissioners, in regard to the Episcopal Clergy, is amply set forth by a profess'd Writer upon this Subject^o.

For

ⁿ The Opinions which came under this Denomination are particularly recited in an Act passed for that Purpose, in August, 1650, which we have given an Abstract of in our Nineteenth Volume.

^o *Walker's History of the suffering Clergy.*

For the better Maintenance and Encouragement of preaching Ministers, and for uniting and severing of Parishes. By this Ordinance Trustees were appointed and authorized to unite or sever Parishes, in such Manner as should best contribute to the competent Maintenance of a Minister and the Conveniency of the Parishioners: Tho' the Tythes and other Profits were payable to one Minister for the Parishes so united, yet the Churchwardens of each were to be elected distinctly as before such Union; and to remain so as to all Rates, Taxes, Rights, Privileges, &c. but to contribute proportionably to the Support of that Church which should be deem'd fittest to stand; the other to be pull'd down, and the Materials converted to a joint Stock for repairing of the Fabrick, and to no other Purpose. Where the Right of Presentation was in different Persons, each Patron to present alternately; and if the Revenue of one Benefice was double to that of the other, the Patron of the more valuable Benefice to have two Turns in three. Where a large Parish was to be divided, the Trustees had a Power to fix what Share of the Revenues should be appropriated to the Minister of each new Parish so created: But their Proceedings were to be approved by the Parliament, if sitting, and, in the Intervals thereof, by the Lord Protector and his Council.

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For enabling such Soldiers as served the Commonwealth in the late Wars, to exercise any Trade. By this Ordinance the Act 5. Eliz. prohibiting Persons to follow a Trade who had not served seven Years Apprenticeship, and all Bye-Laws of Corporations were suspended: A Soldier, sued for exercising any Trade, was, in case of a Verdict in his Favour, intitled to double Costs of Suit.

For appointing Visitors for both Universities, the Schools of Westminster, Winchester, Merchant-Taylor's School, London, and Eaton College and School. The Preamble recites, 'That the carrying on and perfecting of the Reformation and Regulation of the Universities is a Work very much conducing

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to the Glory of God and the Public Good: In order to which the Ordinance appoints and authorizes certain Commissioners, consisting of Lawyers and Gentlemen, the Vice-Chancellors of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, with the Masters and Fellows of Colleges, to consider of the best Means for regulating and well-governing the above-mentioned Universities and Schools, in Matters of Religion, Manners, Discipline, and Exercises; also to examine what Statutes were fit to be abrogated, altered, or added; to explain such as were ambiguous or obscure; to determine Appeals; and to propose Methods for the better Advancement of Piety, Learning, and good Nurture therein, to be presented to the Lord Protector and the Parliament for their Approbation.'

We have been the more particular in our Account of these Ordinances, because *Cromwell*, in his Speech at opening the ensuing Parliament, refers to some of the most popular of them, as Evidences of his and his Council's great Care and Regard for the Public Good since his taking the Protectorate upon him.

Thus much for the Interval between the Resignation of *Cromwell's* first Parliament, and the assembling of his second, whose Proceedings now hasten upon us: For

On the third of *September*, being the Day appointed for the Parliament to meet, tho' *Sunday*^p, the major Part of the Members were present in the Afternoon, at the Abbey-Church in *Westminster*, where Mr. *Stephen Marshall* preached before them upon *Hosea*, xii. 3, 4. About Four o'Clock they repaired to the Parliament-House, where there appeared about 300. After a-while a Message was brought

Meeting of *Cromwell's* second Parliament.

^p Mr. *Hebbes* imputes this Appointment of the third of *September* to a Superstitious Choice in *Cromwell*, because *that Day* had been so lucky to him at *Danbar* in 1650, and at *Worcester*, in 1651. *History of the Civil Wars*, p. 257.

brought that the Lord Protector was come by Water from *Whitehall* to the *Painted-Chamber*, and desired their Presence: Whereupon they immediately went thither to his Highness; who standing bare, upon a Pedestal erected for that Purpose, informed them, that on the Morrow Morning there being a Sermon to be preached at the Abbey-Church, where he intended himself to be present, he thought fit to make them acquainted with it; and to let them know he had some Things to communicate to them in Reference to the great Affairs of the Commonwealth, not so fit to be delivered upon that Day, which was not to be taken up in Ceremonies: He therefore desired they would meet him again the next Morning in the same Place. This done, the Members went back to the House, and adjourned to that Time. Accordingly,

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Sept. 4. The Lord Protector came in State from *Whitehall*, to the Abbey-Church in *Westminster*: Some Hundreds of Gentlemen and Officers went before him bare, with the Life-Guards; next before the Coach his Pages and Lackies richly cloathed; on the Right of it went Mr. *Walter Strickland*, one of his Council, and Captain of his Guard, with the Master of Ceremonies, both on Foot; on the other Side, Capt. *Howard* of the Life-Guards. In the Coach with him was his Son *Henry* and Gen. *Lambert*, who both sat bare. After him came *Cleypole*, Master of the Horse, with a Led-Horse richly trapp'd; next came the Commissioners of the Great Seal, and of the Treasury; divers of the Council in Coaches, and the ordinary Guards.

Alighting at the Abbey-Door, the Officers of the Army and the Gentlemen went first; next them four Maces; then the Commissioners of the Seal, *Whitlocke* carrying the Purse, and General *Lambert* the Sword, both bare; the rest followed. His Highness was seated over-against the Pulpit, and the Members of Parliament on both Sides of him.

After the Sermon, preached by Mr. *Thomas Goodwyn*, his Highness return'd in the same Equipage,

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page, to the *Painted-Chamber*; where being seated in a Chair of State, advanc'd up several Steps, and the Members upon Benches round about, all bare, he put off his Hat, and made the following subtle Speech to them, as Mr. *Whitlocke* very justly terms it ^P:

Gentlemen,

His Speech to
them at open-
ing the Session.

‘**Y**OU are met here on the greatest Occasion that, I believe, *England* ever saw, having upon your Shoulders the Interest of three great Nations, with the Territories belonging to them. And truly, I believe I may say it without any Hyperbole, you have upon your Shoulders the Interest of all the Christian People in the World; and the Expectation is, that I should let you know, as far as I have Cognizance of it, the Occasion of your assembling together at this Time.

‘It hath been very well hinted to you this Day, that you come hither to settle the Interests before-mentioned; for it will be made of so large Extention in the Issue and Consequence of it.

‘In the Way and Manner of my speaking to you I shall study Plainness, and to speak to you what is Truth, and what is upon my Heart, and what will in some Measure reach to these Concernments.

‘After so many Changes and Turnings which this Nation hath laboured under, to have such a Day of Hope as this is, and such a Door of Hope opened by God to us, truly, I believe some Months since, would have been above all our Thoughts.

‘I confess it would have been worthy of such a Meeting as this is, to have remembered that which was the Rise, and gave the first Beginning to all these Turnings and Tossings that have been upon these Nations: And to have given you a Series of the Transactions (not of Men, but) of the Providence of God, all along unto our late Changes;

‘as

^P From the original Edition, printed for *G. Sawbridge*, at the Bible on *Lodgate-Hill*, 1654. In the Title Page it is said to have been taken by one who stood very near, and published to prevent Mistakes.

as also the Ground of our first Undertaking to oppose that Usurpation and Tyranny that was upon us; both in Civils and Spirituals, and the several Grounds particularly applicable to the several Changes that have been.

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‘ But I have two or three Reasons which divert me from such a Way of proceeding at this Time. If I should have gone in that Way, that which is upon my Heart to have said (which is written there, that if I would blot it out I could not) would have spent this Day; the Providences and Dispensations of God have been so stupendous. As *David* said in the like Case, Psalm xl. 5. *Many, O Lord my God, are thy wonderful Works which thou hast done; and thy Thoughts which are to us ward, they cannot be reckoned up in Order unto thee: If I would declare and speak of them, they are more than can be numbered.*

‘ Truly, another Reason, new to me, you had To-day in the Sermon. Much Recapitulation of Providence; much Allusion to a State and Dispensation, in respect of Discipline and Correction; of Mercies and Deliverances; the only Parallel of God’s dealing with us that I know in the World, which was largely and wisely held forth to you this Day, *Israel’s* bringing out of *Egypt* through a Wilderness, by many Signs and Wonders, towards a Place of Rest; I say towards it. And that having been so well remonstrated to you this Day, is another Argument why I shall not trouble you with a Recapitulation of those Things; though they are Things that I hope will never be forgotten, because written in better Books than those of Paper; I am persuaded written in the Heart of every good Man.

‘ The third Reason was this, that which I judge to be the End of your Meeting; the great End; which was likewise remembered to you this Day, to wit, healing and settling. And the remembering Transactions too particularly, perhaps, instead of healing, (at least in the Hearts of many of you) may set the Wound fresh a bleeding.

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‘ I must profess this to you, whatever Thoughts pass upon me, that if this Day (that is, this Meeting) prove not healing, what shall we do? But, as I said before, seeing, I trust, it is in the Minds of you all, and much more in the Mind of God, which must cause healing: It must be first in his Mind, and he being pleased to put it into yours, it will be a Day indeed; and such a Day as Generations to come will bless you for. I say for this, and the other Reasons, I have forborne to make a particular Remembrance and Enumeration of Things, and of the Manner of the Lord’s bringing us through so many Changes and Turnings as have passed upon us.

‘ Howbeit, I think it will be more than necessary to let you know, at least so well as I may, in what Condition this, nay these Nations were, when this Government was undertaken.

‘ For Order’s Sake: ’Tis very natural for us to consider what our Condition was in Civils; in Spirituals. What was our Condition? Every Man’s Hand almost was against his Brother; at least, his Heart: Little regarding any Thing that should cement, and might have a Tendency in it to cause us to grow into one. All the Dispensations of God, his terrible ones (he having met us in the Way of his Judgment in a Ten-years Civil War, a very sharp one); his merciful Dispensations, they did not, they did not work upon us: But we had our Humours and Interests: And indeed I fear our Humours were more than our Interests: And certainly, as it fell out in such Cases, our Passions were more than our Judgments.

‘ Was not every Thing almost grown arbitrary? Who knew where, or how, to have Right without some Obstruction or other intervening? Indeed we were almost grown arbitrary in every Thing.

‘ What was the Face that was upon our Affairs as to the Interest of the Nation; to the Authority of the Nation; to the Magistracy; to the Ranks and Orders of Men, whereby *England* hath been

‘ known

known for hundreds of Years? A Nobleman, a Gentleman, a Yeoman; that is a good Interest of the Nation, and a great one. The Magistracy of the Nation, was it not almost trampled under Foot, under Despise and Contempt, by Men of Levelling Principles?

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‘I beseech you, for the Orders of Men and Ranks of Men, did not that Levelling Principle tend to the reducing all to an Equality? Did it think to do so? Or did it practise towards it for Property and Interest? What was the Design, but to make the Tenant as liberal a Fortune as the Landlord? which, I think, if obtained, would not have lasted long. The Men of that Principle, after they had served their own Turns, would have cried up Interest and Property then fast enough.

‘This Instance is instead of many, and that it may appear that this Thing did extend far, is manifest; because it was a pleasing Voice to all poor Men, and truly not unwelcome to all bad Men. To my Thinking it is a Consideration that, in your Endeavours after Settlement, you will be so well minded of, that I might well have spared this; but let that pass.

‘Indeed in Spiritual Things, the Case was more sad and deplorable; and that was told to you this Day eminently. The prodigious Blasphemies, Contempt of God and *Christ*, denying of him, Contempt of him and his Ordinances, and of the Scriptures: A Spirit visibly acting those Things foretold by *Peter* and *Jude*; yea, those Things spoken of by *Paul* to *Timothy*; who, when he would remember some Things to be worse than the Antichristian State, of which he had spoken in the first to *Timothy*, iv. 1, 2. tells them what should be the Lot and Portion of the last Times; and says, second to *Timothy* iii. 2, 3, 4. *In the last Days perilous Times should come, for Men should be Lov-ers of their own selves, Covetous, Boasters, Proud, Blasphemers, disobedient to Parents, Unthankful, &c.* And when he remembers that of the Anti-

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christian State, he tells them, first to *Timothy* iv. 1, 2. *That, in the latter Days, that State shall come in, wherein there shall be a departing from the Faith, and a giving heed to seducing Spirits, and Doctrines of Devils, speaking Lies in Hypocrisy, &c.* By which Description he makes the State of the last Times worse than that under Antichrist. And surely it may well be feared these are our Times; for when Men forget all Rules of Law and Nature, and break all the Bonds that fallen Man hath upon him, the Remainder of the Image of God in his Nature, which he cannot blot out, and yet shall endeavour to blot out, *having a Form of Godliness, without the Power*; these are sad Tokens of the last Times.

‘ And indeed the Character wherewith this Spirit and Principle is described in that Place, is so legible and visible, that he that runs may read it to be amongst us; for by such the *Grace of God is turned into Wantonness*, and *Christ and the Spirit of God* made the Cloak of all Villainy and spurious Apprehensions. And although these Things will not be owned publickly, as to Practice, (they being so abominable and odious) yet how this Principle extends itself, and whence it had its Rise, makes me to think of a second Sort of Men; who, ’tis true, as I said, will not practise nor own these Things, yet can tell the Magistrate that he hath nothing to do with Men thus holding; for these are Matters of Conscience and Opinion: They are Matters of Religion; what hath the Magistrate to do with these Things? He is to look to the outward Man, but not to meddle with the inward. And truly it so happens, that though these Things do break out visibly to all, yet the Principle wherewith these Things are carried on, so forbids the Magistrate to meddle with them, as it hath hitherto kept the Offenders from Punishment.

‘ Such Considerations and Pretensions of Liberty, Liberty of Conscience, and Liberty of Subjects, two as glorious Things to be contended for, as

any

any God hath given us; yet both these also abused for the patronizing of Villanies, in so much as that it hath been an ordinary Thing to say, and in Dispute to affirm, That it was not in the Magistrate's Power; he had nothing to do with it; not so much as the printing a Bible in the Nation for the Use of the People, lest it be imposed upon the Consciences of Men; for they must receive the same traditionally and implicitly from the Power of the Magistrate, if thus received.

' The aforementioned Abominations did thus swell to this Height amongst us.

' The Axe was laid to the Root of the Ministry. It was Antichristian; it was *Babylonish*: It suffered under such a Judgment, that the Truth of it is, as the Extremity was great on that, I wish it prove not so on this Hand. The Extremity was, That no Man having a good Testimony, having received Gifts from *Christ*, might preach, if not ordained. So now, many on the other Hand affirm, That he who is ordained hath a Nullity, or Antichristianism, stamped upon his Calling, so that he ought not to preach, or not be heard.

' I wish it may not too justly be said, That there was Severity and Sharpness; yea, too much of an imposing Spirit in Matters of Conscience; a Spirit unchristian enough in any Times, most unfit for these; denying Liberty to those who have earned it with their Blood; who have gained Civil Liberty and Religious also for those who would thus impose upon them.

' We may reckon among these our Spiritual Evils, an Evil that hath more Refinedness in it, and more Colour for it, and hath deceived more People of Integrity than the rest have done; for few have been caught with the former Mistakes, but such as have apostatized from their holy Profession; such as, being corrupt in their Consciences, have been forsaken by God, and left to such noisome Opinions: But, I say, there are others more refined; many honest People, whose Hearts are sincere,

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many of them belonging to God; and that is the mistaken Notion of the Fifth Monarchy. A Thing pretending more Spirituality than any Thing else: A Notion, I hope, we all honour, wait, and hope for, that *Jesus Christ* will have a Time to set up his Reign in our Hearts, by subduing those Corruptions, and Lusts, and Evils that are there, which reign now more in the World than, I hope, in due Time, they shall do; and when more Fullness of the Spirit is poured forth to subdue Iniquity, and bring in everlasting Righteousness, then will the Approach of that Glory be. The carnal Divisions and Contentions amongst Christians, so common, are not the Symptoms of that Kingdom.

‘ But for Men to entitle themselves, upon this Principle, that they are the only Men to rule Kingdoms, govern Nations, and give Laws to People; to determine of Property, and Liberty, and every Thing else, upon such a Pretence as this is; truly, they had need give clear Manifestations of God’s Presence with them, before wise Men will receive or submit to their Conclusions. Besides, certainly though many of these Men have good Meanings, as I hope in my Soul they have, yet it will be the Wisdom of all knowing and experienced Christians to do as *Jude* saith: When he had reckoned up those horrible Things done upon Pretences, and happily by some upon Mistakes, *Of some, says he, have Compassion, making a Difference; others save with Fear, pulling them out of the Fire.* I fear they will give Opportunity too often for this Exercise, and I hope the same will be for their Good.

‘ If Men do but pretend for Justice and Righteousness, and be of peaceable Spirits, and will manifest this, let them be the Subjects of the Magistrate’s Encouragement. And if the Magistrate, by punishing visible Miscarriages, save them by that Discipline, (God having ordained him for that End) I hope it will evidence Love, and no Hatred, to punish where there is Cause.

‘ Indeed this is that which doth most declare the
‘ Dan-

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Danger of that Spirit; for if these were but Notions, I mean the Instances that I have given you both of Civil Considerations and Spiritual; if, I say, they were but Notions, they were to be let alone. Notions will hurt none but them that have them: But when they come to such Practices, as to tell us, That Liberty and Property are not the Badges of the Kingdom of *Christ*; and tell us, That, instead of regulating Laws, Laws are to be abrogated, indeed subverted; and perhaps would bring in the *Judaical* Law, instead of our known Laws settled amongst us: This is worthy of every Magistrate's Consideration; especially where every Stone is turned to bring Confusion. I think, I say, this will be worthy of the Magistrate's Consideration.

‘ Whilst these Things were in the Midst of us, and the Nation rent and torn, in Spirit and Principle, from one End to another, after this Sort and Manner I have now told you; Family against Family; Husband against Wife; Parents against Children; and nothing in the Hearts and Minds of Men but *Overturn, Overturn, Overturn*, (a Scripture Phrase very much abused, and applied to justify unpeaceable Practices by all Men of discontented Spirits) the common Adversary in the mean Time sleeps not; and our Adversaries, in Civil and Spiritual Respects, did take Advantages at these Divisions and Distractions, and did practise accordingly in the three Nations of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*.

‘ We know very well that Emissaries of the *Jesuits* never came in those Swarms as they have done since these Things were set on Foot. And I tell you, that divers Gentlemen here can bear Witness with me, how that they have had a Consistory abroad, that rules all the Affairs of Things in *England*, from an Archbishop down to the other Dependents upon him. And they had fixed in *England* (of which we are able to produce the particular Instruments in most of the Limits of the

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Cathedrals) an Episcopal Power, with Archdeacons, &c. And had Persons authorized to exercise and distribute those Things, who pervert and deceive the People. And all this, while we were in this sad and, as I said, deplorable Condition.

‘ In the mean Time, all Endeavours possible were used to hinder the Work in *Ireland*, and the Progress of the Work of God in *Scotland*, by continual Intelligences and Correspondences, both at home and abroad; from hence into *Ireland*, and from hence into *Scotland*, Persons were stirred up and encouraged, from these Divisions and Discomposure of Affairs, to do all they could to encourage and foment the War in both these Places.

‘ To add yet to our Misery: Whilst we were in this Condition we were in War, deeply engaged in a War with the *Portuguese*; whereby our Trade ceased, and the evil Consequences by that War were manifest and very considerable.

‘ And not only this, but we had a War with *Holland*; consuming our Treasure, occasioning a vast Burden upon the People; a War that cost this Nation full as much as the Taxes came unto; the Navy being 160 Ships, which cost this Nation above 100,000*l.* a Month, besides the Contingences which would make it 120,000*l.* a Month. That very one War did engage us to so great a Charge.

‘ At the same Time also we were in a War with *France*. The Advantages that were taken at the Discontents and Divisions among ourselves, did also foment that War; and at least hinder us of an honourable Peace; every Man being confident we could not hold out long. And surely they did not calculate amiss, if the Lord had not been exceeding gracious to us. I say, at the same Time, we had a War with *France*. And besides the Sufferings, in respect of the Trade of the Nation, ’tis most evident, that the Purse of the Nation had not possibly been able longer to bear it, by reason of the Advantages taken by other States to improve their

their own and spoil our Manufacture of Cloth, and hinder the Vent thereof; which is the great Staple Commodity of this Nation.

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‘ This was our Condition: Spoil’d in our Trade, and we at this vast Expence; thus dissettled at home, and having these Engagements abroad.

‘ These Things being thus, (as, I am persuaded, it is not hard to convince every Person here they were thus) what a Heap of Confusions were upon these poor Nations? And either Things must have been left to have sunk into the Miseries these Premises would suppose, or a Remedy must be applied.

‘ A Remedy hath been applied: That hath been this Government: A Thing that I shall say little unto. The Thing is open and visible to be seen and read by all Men; and therefore let it speak for itself.

‘ Only let me say this, because I can speak it with Comfort and Confidence before a Greater than you all, that is, before the Lord, That, in the Intention of it, as to the approving our Hearts to God, let Men judge as they please, it is calculated for the Interest of the People; for the Interest of the People alone, and for their Good, without Respect had to any other Interest. And if that be not true, I shall be bold to say again, let it speak for itself.

‘ Truly I may (I hope humbly before God, and modestly before you) say somewhat on the Behalf of the Government: That is, (not to discourse of the particular Heads of it) to acquaint you a little with the Effects of it; and that not for Ostentation’s Sake, but to the end that I may deal at this Time faithfully with you, by acquainting you with the State of Things, and what Proceedings have been upon this Government, that so you may know the State of our Affairs. This is the main End of my putting you to this Trouble.

‘ It hath had some Things in Desire, and it hath done some Things actually. It hath desired to reform

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form the Laws: I say, to reform them; and, for that End, it hath called together Persons (without Reflection) of as great Ability, and as great Integrity, as are in these Nations, to consider how the Laws might be made plain and short, and less chargeable to the People; how to lessen Expence for the Good of the Nation; and those Things are in Preparation, and Bills prepared, which in due Time, I make no Question, will be tendered to you. There hath been Care taken to put the Administration of the Laws into the Hands of just Men; Men of the most known Integrity and Ability.

‘The Chancery hath been reform’d, and, I hope, to the just Satisfaction of all good Men; and for the Things depending there, which made the Burden and Work of the Honourable Persons intrusted in those Services beyond their Ability, it hath referr’d many of them to those Places where *Englishmen* love to have their Rights tried, the Courts of Law at *Westminster*.

‘It hath endeavoured to put a Stop to that heady Way (touched of likewise this Day) of every Man making himself a Minister and a Preacher. It hath endeavoured to settle a Way for the Approbation of Men of Piety and Ability for the Discharge of that Work: And, I think I may say, it hath committed that Work to the Trust of Persons, both of the Presbyterian and Independent Judgments, Men of as known Ability, Piety, and Integrity as, I believe, any this Nation hath. And I believe also, that in that Care they have taken, they have laboured to approve themselves to *Christ*, the Nation, and their own Consciences. And indeed I think if there be any Thing of Quarrel against them, it is, (tho’ I am not here to justify the Proceedings of any) I say it is, that they go upon such a Character as the Scripture warrants, to put Men into that great Employment. and to approve Men for it, who are Men that have *received Gifts from him that ascended up on high, and gave*

gave Gifts for the Work of the Ministry, and for the Edifying of the Body of Christ.

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‘It hath taken Care, we hope, for the Expulsion of all those who may be judged any way unfit for this Work; who are scandalous, and the common Scorn and Contempt of that Administration.

‘One Thing more this Government hath done: It hath been instrumental to call a Free Parliament; which, blessed be God, we see here this Day: I say, a Free Parliament. And that it may continue so, I hope is in the Heart and Spirit of every good Man in *England*; save such discontented Persons as I have formerly mentioned. It is that which, as I have desired above my Life, I shall desire to keep it so above my Life.

‘I did before mention to you the Plunges we were in, in respect of Foreign States, by the War with *Portugal*, *France*, the *Dutch*, the *Danes*, and the little Assurance we had from any of our Neighbours round about. I perhaps forgot it, but indeed it was a Caution upon my Mind, and I desire that it might be so understood, that if any Good hath been done, it was the Lord, not we his poor Instruments.

‘I did instance in the Wars which did exhaust your Treasure, and put you into such a Condition that you must have sunk therein, if it had continued but a few Months longer: This I dare affirm, if strong Probability can give me a Ground.

‘You have now, though it be not the first in Time, Peace with *Swedland*; an Honourable Peace, through the Endeavours of an Honourable Person here present¹, as the Instrument: I say, you have an Honourable Peace with a Kingdom that, not many Years since, was much a Friend to *France*, and lately, perhaps, inclinable enough to the *Spaniard*. And I believe you expect not very much Good from any of your Catholic Neighbours; nor yet that they would be very willing you should have a good Understanding with your

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¹ Mr. Widdlake.

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Protestant Friends. Yet, Thanks be to God, that Peace is concluded, and, as I said before, it is an Honourable Peace.

‘ You have a Peace with the *Danes* : A State that lay contiguous to that Part of this Island which hath given us the most Trouble. And certainly, if your Enemies abroad be able to annoy you, it is likely they will take their Advantage, where it best lies, to give you Trouble there. But you have a Peace there, and an Honourable one ; Satisfaction for your Merchants Ships, not only to their Content, but to their Rejoicing. I believe you will easily know it is so.

‘ You have the *Sound* open ; which was obstructed. That which was, and is, the Strength of this Nation, the Shipping, will now be supplied thence. And whereas you were glad to have any Thing of that Kind at the second Hand, &c. you have all Manner of Commerce, and at as much Freedom as the *Dutch* themselves, there, and at the same Rates and Tolls ; and, I think I may say, by that Peace, they cannot raise the same upon you.

‘ You have a Peace with the *Dutch* : A Peace unto which I shall say little, because so well known in the Benefit and Consequences of it ; and I think it was as desirable and as acceptable to the Spirit of this Nation, as any one Thing that lay before us. And, as I believe, nothing so much gratified our Enemies as to see us at Odds ; so, I persuade myself, nothing is of more Terror nor Trouble to them, than to see us thus reconciled.

‘ As a Peace with the Protestant States hath much Security in it, so it hath as much of Honour and of Assurance to the Protestant Interest abroad ; without which no Assistance can be given thereunto. I wish it may be written upon our Hearts to be zealous for that Interest ; for if ever it were like to come under a Condition of suffering, it is now. In all the Emperor’s patrimonial Territories, the Endeavour is to drive them out as fast as they can, and they are necessitated to run to Protestant States

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to seek their Bread; and by this Conjunction of Interests, I hope, you will be in a more fit Capacity to help them: And it begets some Reviving of their Spirits that you will help them as Opportunity shall serve.

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‘ You have a Peace likewise with the Crown of *Portugal*; which Peace, though it hung long in Hand, yet is lately concluded. It is a Peace that your Merchants make us believe is of good Concernment to their Trade; their Assurance being greater, and so their Profit in Trade thither, than to other Places. And this hath been obtained in that Treaty, (which never was since the Inquisition was set up there) that our People which trade thither have Liberty of Conscience.

‘ Indeed Peace is, as you were well told To-day, desirable with all Men, as far as it may be had with Conscience and Honour.

‘ We are upon a Treaty with *France*. And we may say this, that, if God give us Honour in the Eyes of the Nations about us, we have Reason to bless him for it, and so to own it. And I dare say that there is not a Nation in *Europe*, but they are very willing to ask a good Understanding with you.

‘ I am sorry I am thus tedious; but I did judge that it was somewhat necessary to acquaint you with these Things. And Things being thus, I hope you will be willing to hear a little again of the sharp as well as the sweet: And I should not be faithful to you, nor to the Interest of these Nations which you and I serve, if I should not let you know all.

‘ As I said before, when this Government was undertaken, we were in the Midst of these Divisions, and Animosities, and Scatterings: Also thus engaged with these Enemies round about us, at such a vast Charge 120,000*l.* a Month for the very Fleet; which was the very utmost Penny of your Assessments: Ave, and then all your Treasure was exhausted and spent when this Government was undertaken; all accidental Ways of
bring-

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bringing in Treasure, to a very inconsiderable Sum, consumed: That is to say, the Lands were sold; the Treasures spent; Rents, Fee-Farms, King's, Queen's, Princes, Bishops, Dean and Chapters, Delinquents Lands, sold. These were spent when this Government was undertaken.

‘I think it is my Duty to let you know so much: And that's the Reason why the Taxes do yet lie so heavy upon the People; of which we have abated 30,000*l.* a Month for the next three Months. Truly I thought it my Duty to let you know, that though God hath dealt thus with you, yet these are but Entrances and Doors of Hope; wherein, through the Blessing of God, you may enter into Rest and Peace; but you are not yet entered.

‘You were told To-day of a People brought out of *Egypt* towards the Land of *Canaan*; but thro' Unbelief, Murmuring, Repining, and other Temptations and Sins, wherewith God was provoked, they were fain to come back again, and linger many Years in the Wilderness before they came to the Place of Rest.

‘We are thus far through the Mercy of God. We have Cause to take Notice of it that we are not brought into Misery; but, as I said before, a Door of Hope open. And I may say this to you, if the Lord's Blessing and his Presence go along with the Management of Affairs at this Meeting, you will be enabled to put the Top-Stone to this Work, and make the Nation happy. But this must be by knowing the true State of Affairs; you are yet, like the People under Circumcision, but raw; your Peaces are but newly made; and it is a Maxim not to be despised, though Peace be made, yet it is Interest that keeps Peace. And I hope you will trust it no further than you see Interest upon it: And therefore I wish that you may go forward, and not backward; and that you may have the Blessing of God upon your Endeavours. It is one of the great Ends of calling this Parliament, that this Ship of the Commonwealth may be

be brought into a safe Harbour; which, I assure you, it will not well be, without your Counsel and Advice.

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‘ You have great Works upon your Hands. You have *Ireland* to look unto; there is not much done towards the Planting of it, though some Things leading and preparing for it are. It is a great Business to settle the Government of that Nation upon fit Terms, such as will bear that Work through.

‘ You have had likewise laid before you the Considerations intimating your Peace with some foreign States; but yet you have not made Peace with all. And if they should see we do not manage our Affairs with that Wisdom which becomes us, trul, we may sink under Disadvantages for all that is done. And our Enemies will have their Eyes open and be revived, if they see Animosities amongst us; which indeed will be their great Advantage.

‘ I do therefore persuade you to a sweet, gracious, and holy Understanding of one another, and of your Business, concerning which you had so good Counsel this Day; that indeed, as it rejoiced my Heart to hear it, so I hope the Lord will imprint it upon your Spirits; wherein you shall have my Prayers. Having said this, and perhaps omitted many other material Things thro’ the Frailty of my Memory, I shall exercise Plainness and Freeness with you, in telling you, that I have not spoken these Things as one that assumes to himself Dominion over you; but as one that doth resolve to be a Fellow-Servant with you, to the Interest of these great Affairs, and of the People of these Nations. I shall therefore trouble you no longer, but desire you to repair to your House, and to exercise your own Liberty in the Choice of a Speaker, that so you may lose no Time in carrying on your Work.’

The Members being return’d to the House, unanimously elected for their Speaker *William Lenthall*,

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Lenthall, Esq; Master of the Rolls. It is observable that altho' *Cromwell* had already exercised many Personal Acts of Royalty since his Advancement to the Protectorate, yet the antient Ceremony of presenting the Speaker to the King, for his Approbation, was omitted to his Highness; so that this Officer stood solely upon the Election of the House.

The Parliament elect their Speaker, &c.

The first Resolution of this Parliament, after the Choice of Mr. *Lenthall* for their Speaker, Mr. *Scobell*, for their Clerk, and Mr. *Birkhead* for their Serjeant at Arms, (all of whom had fill'd those Stations in the Long Parliament) was to appoint a Day of public Fasting and Humiliation, to be observed by that House and the whole Nation. The 13th Instant was fix'd on for the Parliament, with the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*; the 4th of *October* ensuing for all *England*, *Wales*, and *Scotland*; and the 1st of *November* for *Ireland*, to implore the Divine Blessing on their Proceedings.

They appoint a Fast,

Sept. 5. There was a Call of the House, and another appointed to be on that Day three Weeks. And order a Call of the House.

They then proceeded to appoint a large Committee for Privileges, of which Sir *Arthur Haselrigge* was Chairman; and ordered, That no Petition against any Election of such Members as were already returned for *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, should be received after three Weeks from that Day; and that such Members, who were elected for two or more Places, should declare for which they would serve. A Motion being made, That the House should take the Matter of the Government into Consideration the next Morning, it was agreed to.

A Motion touching Freedom of Speech in Parliament.

Accordingly the House began with it that Day; and, after long Debate, a Motion was made by Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, That no Act or Ordinance, declaring what Offences are Treason, should extend to prejudice the Freedom of Speech in Parliament: But the House dividing upon the previous Question, it passed in the Negative by 187 against 130. Col. *Fiennes* and Mr. *Lawrence*, President of the Lord Protector's Council, being Tellers for the

the former; Sir *Arthur Haselrigge* and Mr. *Scott* for the latter. Then the Lord Protector's Speech being taken into Consideration, and Mention made of the State of foreign Affairs, the Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke* took Occasion to make the following Relation, to the House, of his Negotiations at the Court of *Sweden*.

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Mr. Speaker,

I Held it my Duty, though the present Occasion had not been offered, to give a clear Account to this Honourable House of that Negotiation wherein I had the Honour to serve the Commonwealth lately in *Swedeland*; with the general Transactions and Issue thereof, and the great Respects testified to this Commonwealth in those Places, and by those Princes and States beyond the Seas, where I had Occasion to be during this my Employment; that you may judge of the Success and Advantages thereof.

Mr. Whitlocke's
Report to the
House of his
Negotiations in
Sweden.

I shall not mention the great Difficulties and Opposition which I met with from some in that Court, and from the *Danish* and *Dutch* public Ministers and Party there, whose high Interest it was to hinder your Alliance with that Crown. Neither shall I particularly insist upon, and acquaint you with, the great Dangers both by Sea and Land through which it pleased God to bring me, and to preserve me, lest I should seem to magnify that, which was but my Duty to undergo any Hazards or Perils for your Service.

Only, Sir, you will give me Leave not to forget the Goodness of God to me and my Company, in our great Deliverances, which the Lord was pleased to vouchsafe to us; and which I hold myself obliged to remember, with all Thankfulness to his immediate Hand of Goodness to us.

Sir, Your Servants had extraordinary Respect and Civility manifested to them, both by the Officers and People of that Country, in their long Journey; and upon their safe Arrival at the Court at *Upsale*, by all Sorts of People, of inferior Rank,

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and of the greatest ones; even by the greatest of them all, the Prince Heretier, and by the Queen herself, who sought to make appear her Affection and Regard to this Nation, by her Favours to your Servant, which did much exceed those which she usually allows to others of the like Condition.

‘ In our Ceremonies, wherein that Nation are very punctual, I confess I was somewhat refractory to their Expectations, out of my Zeal to keep up the Honour of my Nation; and even those Things have a great Signification in such Affairs: But they were well pass’d over, and then we fell to our Business, wherein I found those with whom I discoursed and treated to be full of Experience, Abilities, and Wisdom; and some of them full of Subtily, and too much inclining to use Delays for their particular Advantage, which you will pardon those to take the more Notice of, who were at so great a Distance from their Country and Relations.

‘ I thought it behoved me for the Service of my Country, and the better Performance of the Trust at that Time reposed in me, to acquaint myself, by the best Means I could, with the Nature of the People, their Government, the Quality of their Governors, their Religion, Strength, and Trade, and other Matters relating to them.

‘ This I did not only by studying of Books, but of Men also in the Conversation and Treaties which I had with them; and wherein I endeavoured to gain Information of these Things from them, added to my own Observations on the Place.

‘ I found the People hardy and stout, and the more inured to it by the Sharpness of their Climate, which renders them the more able for Military Service.

‘ They are obedient to their Rulers; but, amongst their Equals, too much addicted to quarrelling and drinking, that ferments the other.

‘ They are yet very courteous to Strangers in their travelling and sojourning, not making a Prey
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of them, nor deceiving them, nor deriding them in their Ignorance of the Country or Language, but affording them all Accommodations for their Money which they expect.

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‘ Their Governors are wise, expert, and politic, keeping their Distance and the Rules of Justice; but they will hardly pardon any Neglect; the Omission of a Ceremony, or not returning a Visit is enough with some of them to break off a Treaty of the greatest Consequence.

‘ Though they practise much Delay when they judge it their Interest to require it, yet they observe honourably their Capitulations; and though both Rulers and People regard their particular Interest in the first Place, yet it is not with the excluding of Justice and Honesty.

‘ Their Government is by Municipal Laws and Customs, and by Acts of their Supreme Council, which hath the Legislative Power, and is the same in effect, if not the Original of our Parliament. They have inferior and ordinary Courts of Justice, not unlike to ours in many Particulars: The King hath a great Power, and the Senators under him, and by them the Affairs of the State are managed.


‘ Though their Government hath great Affinity with ours, yet the People do not enjoy the like Rights and Liberties as, blessed be God, we do in *England*: They are in more Subjection to the Will of their Lords, and their Lords to the Will of their Superiors, though they have more Power over their Tenants and nearer Neighbours than the *English* have.

‘ Their Laws are clear and few, nor are they covetous to multiply them, which they hold an Error in Government, and Cause of Contention; nor do they allow Debates in Council of any other Matters than what are proposed to them from the King.

‘ The Paucity of Law-Suits amongst them is because of the Distribution of Estates by a Rule of Law to all Children or Heirs, upon the Death of

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every Ancestor ; so that they have seldom a Question upon any Will or Conveyance.

‘ And, by reason of the Smallness of their Trade, their Contracts are few, and consequently, their Law-Suits ; nor will they afford Maintenance for a Profession of Lawyers, or large Salaries for Officers ; in general, their Government is wise, just, and peaceable.

‘ Their Religion is punctually *Lutheran*, both in Doctrine and Discipline ; and they are so severe in it that they will hardly admit a *Papist* or *Calvinist* to live among them, except in some few Places, where they permit *Calvinists* to reside for Trade’s Sake.

‘ They have a Liturgy much to the same Effect, in Words and Ceremonies, with that which was in the *English* Church ; nor will they part with any of the Responsals, Ceremonies and Rites, extracted out of the Mass-Book, or with the Images in their Churches, though so little different from those used in the Church of *Rome*.

‘ Their Bishops, and Superintendents who have the same Power, have the like Jurisdiction in Ecclesiastical, but not in Temporal Matters, as the *English* Prelates had ; so have their inferior (as they also call them) Spiritual Courts and Judicatories.

‘ They allow but slender Maintenance to their Clergy ; their Metropolitan, the Archbishop of *Upsale*, hath not above 2000 Rixdollars, which is not 500*l.* of yearly Revenue ; and 100 Rixdollars *per Annum* is an extraordinary Benefice.

‘ Their Dioceses and Parishes are very large, and Sermons are a Rarity in them ; but the Liturgy must not be omitted every *Sunday*, and on their many Holidays.

‘ They have a good Way, upon every Avoidance, to supply their Churches ; the Inhabitants of every Parish where the Minister died, or is removed, do meet and chuse three Deacons, whom they present to the Bishop or Superintendent, who chooseth one of the three, and ordains him a Priest,

Priest, and institutes him into the Benefice that is void.

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‘ Their Strength is considerable both at Land and at Sea; at Land it consists chiefly in the Bodies of their Men, and in their Arms and Fortifications. Their Men are strong, and the more inured to Hardship, by the Coldness of their Climate; and to War, by their frequent Expeditions abroad; and they want no Courage nor Obedience to their Superiors.

‘ Their Arms are made at home, as good and useful as any Country hath; they want not Materials of Copper, Steel, and Iron, both for their greater and smaller Guns and Swords; and have skilful Workmen, and Store of Powder.

‘ Their Fortifications are not many, except in Frontier Towns and Havens; some whereof are strongly and regularly fortified, fully garrisoned, and provided with Copper Great Guns upon their Works.

‘ They have a standing Militia of 50,000 Men, 12,000 Horse and 38,000 Foot, and all these maintained at a very small Charge to the Crown, and with no Burden to the Country; whereof I shall be ready to give you a particular Account, when you shall command it.

‘ These may be drawn together in ten Days, and out of these they order forth Soldiers upon any foreign Design; which Designation is wholly left to the respective Landlords, and gives them no small Awe and Subjection from their Tenants.

‘ Their Strength by Sea surpasseth their Neighbours; they have many Ships which carry 80, and some 100, Copper Guns, well and substantially built; but not after our excellent Way of Frigates, nor so nimble at tacking, or fighting, or the Chase, as our Men of War.

‘ They are not inferior in their Strength at Sea to any Prince or State in these Parts, except the *English* and our Neighbours the *Netherlands*; the greatest Defect and Want in their Naval Force is as to the Number of their Ships and Mariners.

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‘ For their Trade it is not great, but they take a Course daily to improve it; they understand, better than they did formerly, the Conveniences and Advantages they have of Timber for Masts and building of their Ships; of Iron to fit them; of Copper for their Guns; of the Cheapness and Plenty of Pitch and Tar necessary for them, and to be had in their own Country; and sufficient Cordage near them, with their good Harbours on both Sides the *Baltic* Sea, and at *Gottenburgh*.

‘ They are sensible that the Increase of Trade increaseth their Mariners and Shipping, which again increaseth their Trade; and not only their Merchants but their Great Men engage in a Way of Trade for the Encouragement of it, and find Sweetness and Profit in it.

‘ They already send Ships, and plant in the *West-Indies*; and have begun a Trade with their native Commodities to most Parts where Trade is to be had, and will in a short Time become considerable for Trade; and the more, by the Plenty of their Copper, Iron, Deals, Pitch, and Tar, which now they export themselves, and know how necessary they are for other Nations, and how profitable it is for them to be their own Merchants.

‘ I have thus shortly, and weakly, given you Information of what I learned upon the Place, touching this Nation of the *Swedes* and *Goths*, in relation to themselves.

‘ Give me Leave, Sir, now to acquaint you with what I observed concerning them, as they may have Relation to an Alliance with this Commonwealth; and to conclude with an Account, in general, of my Negotiation there, and with the Respect I met with to this Nation, both from them and others, whilst I was abroad.

‘ I look upon them as a Nation, in a perfect Distance and Situation, to be the best Friends and Allies to you; they are neither so near to us as to cause Jealousies from us, nor so far distant but that they may give a timely Assistance to us.

‘ They

‘ They profess the same Protestant Religion with us; in the Fundamentals they agree with us, and in their Averseness to Popery and the Hierarchy of *Rome*; and are the more likely to keep a firmer Union with us.

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‘ There is great Similitude between their Manners, Laws, Language, and Disposition of the People and the *English*, and the like Gallantry of their Gentry and Soldiery; Industry of their Merchants and Artificers, and Laboriousness of their Husbandmen. They are generally much like the *English*, and the more likely to correspond and agree in Amity with us.

‘ They have Store of Men, Arms, and Shipping, to join with us upon any Occasion; and whereby both you and they may be strengthened against your Enemies, and be the more considerable throughout the World.

‘ They are just and faithful in their Actions and Undertakings as the *English* are, and honourable in their Performances; nor are they engaged to any of our Enemies, or such as you may have Cause to suspect; but their Differences and Contentions have rather been with those who have contended with you, and therefore they are the more likely to observe their Alliance with you.

‘ They first sought to his Highness and this Commonwealth for an Amity with us, and sent several Persons of Honour, as public Ministers, hither for that Purpose; and their Queen and the present King have testified great Affection to this Nation, and justly expected some Return of it from you again.

‘ These and many other Motives, grounded upon Reason and Wisdom of State, persuaded those who sat at the Helm here, to judge it fit to send from hence an Ambassador to that Crown, to conclude an Amity with them for the Advantage of Trade, and mutual Assistance of one another.

‘ Herein their Judgment did not fail them; it was very requisite to send an Ambassador thither;

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but perhaps you may see a Failure of their Judgment in the Choice of a Person so unfit for so weighty an Employment; yet they would not excuse him. You will believe he had no Ambition for such a Service, and at such a Time; but he obeyed the Commands of those whom he serv'd, undertook the Employment, and can say, without Vanity, perform'd his Duty therein, to the utmost of his Capacity, with Diligence and Faithfulness; and God was pleas'd to own him in it.

‘ I pass over the dangerous Voyage by Sea in *November*, through your then Enemies, and the cold Journey by Land in *December*, and come to the Court at *Upsale*. which was splendid and high; replenish'd not only with gallant Outsides, but with Persons of great Abilities within, both of the Civil and Military Condition.

‘ Upon my first Ignorance of their Ceremonies, I fell into some Dislike with several of their Grandees, who thought me not enough submissive; others thought the better of me for insisting upon the Right of my Nation, vindicating their Honour, and not sneaking to those with whom I had to do.

‘ I followed my own Reason, and what pleas'd God to direct me for your Service, and in order to the Good of the Protestant Interest. In my Treaty I applied myself upon all Occasions to the Queen herself, and never to the Senate, wherewith her Majesty was not disastad.

‘ In the Transactions of my Affairs I endeavoured to gain the best Intelligence I could from home. and from that Court; and spared no Cost to gain it: The one made me the more considerable there; the other was of great Advantage to me in my Negotiation.

‘ But, Sir, I was to encounter with great Difficulties and Opposition; the King of *Denmark's* Ambassador, the *Dutch* Resident, with all their Party and Friends (some of the most considerable in the Court and Army, and of great Numbers) oppos'd me, and endeavoured to affront me and

my

my Company; but by that were no Gainers. The *French*, *Polish*, and *German* public Ministers, as much as they could covertly, sought to hinder me; but, on the other Side, I found the *Spanish* public Minister there (who was a Person of great Ingenuity, and in much Favour with the Queen) a great Friend and Assistant to me. Several great Officers of the Army, as General *Wrangel*, the *Grave Horn*, *Grave Wittenburg*, *Grave Bannier*, *Grave Leenhough*, and divers others, were Friends to me; and, of the Civil Officers and other Senators, the Baron *Bundt*, *Steinlorke*, the *Grave Tot*, the Chief Justice, the *Grave Braghe*, and chiefly the old Chancellor *Oxenfeirn*, was my chief Friend and Helper in my Business. Prince *Adolphe*, the present King's Brother, was no Ill-willer to it; the King that now is, a great Friend to it, and manifested more particular Respect to you in the Person of your Servant, than he was ever known to do to any of the like Quality, or to any State whatsoever. And the Queen herself was resolved to have the Business done; so much had I gain'd of her Favour, and satisfied her of your Interest and Respects to her.

‘ But, above all, some of my own Countrymen were fierce against me, especially those of the *Scots* Nation, both of the Army and Traders, whom I little considered, yet knew their Humours, and that they would rail at me in the Morning, and afterwards come to my Table to Dinner; and I caused my Officers to welcome them accordingly.

‘ To counterwork these I was not without Friends of my own Nation, whereof divers were of the like Condition; and eminent amongst them was General *Douglas*, a *Scots* Gentleman, who was very civil to me: So was a true *English* Gentleman, Major General Sir *George Fleetwood*, a Person of great Interest and Respect in those Parts, with all that know him; he testified extraordinary Respect and Affection to you, and to your Servant, and was very courteous and helpful to me.

‘ Those who opposed or endeavoured to affront

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me in your Business I forbear to name, not for their Sakes, but lest it might be prejudicial to your Friends there, and to your own future Occasions.

‘ But, Sir, we ought to look higher than to the greatest and wisest of Men: It was the Goodness and Mercy of God who gave a Blessing to your Proceedings, and a desired Success to this Treaty; which we ought to acknowledge with humble Thankfulness; and the weaker the Instruments were, the more his Power and Goodness appear’d in it.

‘ He was pleased to give Success to that Negotiation under my Hands; and, after many Delays and Debates, and all the Opposition that could be made, to give a Conclusion to it. I made an Alliance betwixt the Commonwealth and that Crown, ratified by the then Queen and the present King under their Hands, and under their Great Seal of *Sweden*.

‘ The Instrument thereof I presented to his Highness and his Council at my Return home; who caused a strict Perusal and Examination thereof to be made; and, finding it punctually according to my Instructions, did approve of it, and of my poor Service in it; and his Highness ratified the other Part of the Treaty, to which the Great Seal of *England* was affix’d; the Transcript whereof, with the Original of the other, are at your Command to be produced.

‘ I shall not presume to judge of the Advantages by this Alliance to this Nation, and to the Protestant Interest through the World; this Honourable House are best able to judge thereof, and of the Duty of their Servant, and his Performance thereof; who submits all to their Wisdom and favourable Construction.

‘ And, being now in my Return homewards, give me Leave, Sir, to acquaint you with some Passages of Respect to this Commonwealth in my Journey, both in *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Germany*.

‘ The Magistrates and People of *Stockholm* were very respectful to your Servants, and General
Wrangel

Wrangel and Major-General *Fleetwood*, with the Heer *Lagerfeldt*, and others, accompanied me forty *English* Miles to their chief City. There they freely shew'd me not only the stately Castle, Town, Haven, and Ships, but their Works, Magazines, Arsenal, Work-Houses for Arms, and Shipping which were very strong and considerable.

‘ There I had two Ships provided for my Transportation over the *Baltick* Sea, and in that on which I went on board, a Vice-Admiral was sent to command, being a Point of great Honour, and the Ship was richly furnished and accommodated for the Voyage.

‘ After we had pass'd this deep and rough Sea, through great Tempests and Dangers, and were arrived near to the Hanse Town of *Lubeck*, they hearing of it by our Guns, sent their Coach and Officers to conduct me to their City; where some of the chief of their Lords, with their Syndick, or Recorder, came from the rest to salute me; and, in the *Latin* Oration made to me, gave me all welcome to the Place, and highly express'd their Valuation of this Commonwealth.

‘ I received also civil Complements and Salutations from the Dukes of *Saxony*, *Holstein*, *Courland*, *Lunenburgh*, and other Free Princes of *Germany*, full of Respect and Honour to you.

‘ Here I received likewise Respect and Ceremonies from the *English* Company at *Hamburg*, two Days Journey from this City; who sent Messengers to invite me to their House in *Hamburg*, and express'd all Duty and Respect to you as their Superiors.

‘ In my Land-Journey, which was not without Hardship and want of Conveniences, where the Armies had been, in their late Wars betwixt these two Hanse Towns of *Lubeck* and *Hamburg*, about two Leagues before I came to *Hamburg*, my Countrymen, of the *English* Company there, met me upon the Way with about 50 Coaches, and about 200 Horsemen, to welcome me to those Parts. They treated me nobly by the Way, and con-

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conducted me into *Hamburg*, where the Streets were so crowded with People, that we had a difficult Passage through them; and generally both in their Words and Carriage, they expressed all Civility and Respect unto this Commonwealth.

‘The same Evening that I came hither, the Lords of *Hamburg* sent four of their Senators, with their Syndick, to salute and welcome me to their City, and presented me nobly with Provisions of Fish and Flesh, Wine and Beer, for my Hospitality. They congratulated the Success of your Treaty with *Swedeland*, and expressed very high Regard for our Commonwealth: They invited me to Collations, and did me the Honour to come to my Table, and appointed one of their chief Military Officers to shew me the Works and Ammunition of the Town, and others of their own Number to accompany me to their Town-House, and to inform me in Matters relating to their Judicatories.

‘Indeed their Fortifications are very strong and regular, and they have great Store of Arms and Ammunition, and give therein a good Pattern for others; as also for Provisions for their Shipping.

‘I must do this Right to them, that, both at my coming thither, and during my Stay there, (which was about ten Days) and at my Departure from thence, they did, upon all Occasions, manifest as great an Esteem and Respect for this Commonwealth, as any whom I have met with in foreign Parts.

‘Sir, it pleased God to stop our Voyage by contrary Winds, and to stay us upon the *Elbe* near *Gluckstadt*, a Town of the King of *Denmark*; who, hearing of my being there, sent one of his Senators, the *Grave Ressen Cross*, Viceroy of *Holstein*, to invite me to his Court.

‘The Viceroy came with many Attendants, and not without great Danger by the stormy Weather, on board my Ship, and highly complimented this Commonwealth from his Master; but I, knowing the Course of Treatments in these Parts,

excused

excused myself with the best Civility I could from going on Shore; alledging (what was Truth) That no Persons having the Command of your Ships, as I then had, and being on board them, ought to go from them without Leave, untill his Voyage was finished; and that this was my Condition at that Time.

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‘I had much ado to satisfy the Viceroy; but he was well pleased with his Treatment, and promised to make my Apology to his Master, and to do all good Offices with him, to testify his Service to this Commonwealth.

‘After an extreme dangerous and strong Passage betwixt *Hamburg* and *England*, wherein the Hand of God appeared wonderfully in the Preservation of your Servants, we all came in Safety to our dear Country.

‘Thus, Sir, I have given you an Account of the whole Transactions of this Business; and, for any Errors or Miscarriage of Mind in the Negotiation, or in this Account I have given you of it, I humbly ask your Pardon.’

This Speech met with general Applause: And a Motion being made, That Mr. *Whitlocke* should have the public Thanks of the House for his good Services done in this hazardous and important Business of his Embassy, the Lord *Broughill* spoke much in Commendation of the Treaty, and of the Ambassador, and seconded the Motion for the public Thanks; adding, That there was a considerable Sum of Money due to him, for the Expences of his Embassy; but no Gratuity or Reward given him for his hazardous and great Services done for this Commonwealth: And thereupon moved That 2000 *l.* might be ordered to be paid to Mr. *Whitlocke*, in Satisfaction of all Arrears due to him, and as a Mark of Favour from the House. All which was unanimously agreed to^k.

This

^k The whole of this Affair we give upon the Authority of Mr. *Whitlocke* himself, there not being the least Mention of it in the *Commons Journals* of this Day.

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This Affair being over, it was resolved, That the Subject-Matter of Debate, the next Morning, should be, Whether the House did approve that the Government should be in one Single Person and a Parliament? Accordingly,

A Debate whether the Government should be in one Single Person and a Parliament:

Sept. 7. The House went upon the foregoing Question: The Protector's Party were for approving the whole Instrument of Government at once; but the Republicans were for debating it, Article by Article, in a Committee. Upon this Occasion a Member stood up, and shewed 'the Snares that were laid to entrap the People's Privileges;' declaring, 'That as God had made him instrumental in cutting down Tyranny in one Person, he could not endure to see the Nation's Liberties ready to be shackled by another, whose Right to the Government could be measured out no otherwise than by the Length of his Sword; which alone emboldened him to command his Commanders ^m.' Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, Mr. *Scott*, and Serjeant *Bradshaw*, (particularly the latter, whom the Republicans intended to have chosen for their Speaker) remarkably distinguished themselves against the Court Party, as we shall henceforth style them; and were very instrumental, says *Ludlow*, in opening the Eyes of many young Members, who had never before heard their Interests so clearly stated and asserted ⁿ: In-somuch that it was carried by a Majority of 141 against 136, That the House be Now resolved into a Committee of the whole House, to debate upon the Question, Whether they do approve that the Government shall be in one Single Person and a Parliament? The Debate upon this grand Affair took up the whole Day and the three following: And tho' the new Courtiers prevailed so far as to prevent the House from coming to any Resolution upon the foregoing Question, yet the Motion for referring it to a Committee being carried

^m *The perfect Politician; or, A full View of Cromwell's Life and Actions*, p. 270, printed in 1659.

ⁿ *Memoirs*, Vol. II. p. 500.

ried against the Protector's Party in the House, by a Majority of five Voices, it so alarm'd his Highness, that he began to be jealous lest his new Parliament should overturn their Master, and thought it high Time to look to himself. Having therefore given Orders to the Lord Mayor of *London*, to be upon his Guard to prevent Disturbances in the City, he sent a Message to the Parliament, desiring them to meet him in the *Painted-Chamber*. The Members being accordingly come thither, he delivered his Sentiments to them in the following high Terms of Resentment. Mr. *Whitlocke* has given us only a short Abstract of this Speech, which contains a summary Review and Defence of *Cromwell's* Conduct, from his first Entrance into public Life; a Denial of his contriving, or in the least contributing to, his own Advancement to the Protectorate; his intire Ignorance of the last Parliament's intended Resignation, till he received the Instrument of it from them, his Intention then being to have gone into Retirement; his reiterated Refusal of the Government when offered him, and his Reluctance in accepting it; his Resolution nevertheless not to part with it, since his Power had been recognized by the whole Nation, and by Foreign Courts:—But hear him in his own Words^o:

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Which gives great Umbrage to the Lord Protector.

Gentlemen,

‘ IT is not long since I met you in this Place, upon an Occasion which gave me much more Content and Comfort than this doth.

His resentful Speech to the Members, on that Occasion.

‘ That which I have to say to you now will need no Preamble to let me into my Discourse; for the Occasion of this Meeting is plain enough. I could have wish'd, with all my Heart, there had been no Cause for it.

‘ At that Meeting I did acquaint you what the first Rise was of this Government which hath called you hither; and in the Authority of which you came hither. Among other Things that I told you of then, I said you were a Free Parliament;

^o From the original Edition, printed by the same Person as the foregoing Speech, and published for the same Reasons.

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‘ment; and so you are, whilst you own the Government and Authority that called you hither; for certainly that Word implied a Reciprocation, or it implied nothing at all.

‘Indeed there was a Reciprocation implied and expressed; and I think your Actions and Carriages ought to be suitable: But I see it will be necessary for me now a little to magnify my Office; which I have not been apt to do. I have been of this Mind, I have been always of this Mind, since first I entered upon it, That if God will not bear it up, let it sink. But if a Duty be incumbent upon me, to bear my Testimony unto it, (which in Modesty I have hitherto forborne) I am in some Measure now necessitated thereunto: And therefore that will be the Prologue to my Discourse.

‘I call’d not myself to this Place; I say again, I call’d not myself to this Place; of that God is Witness: And I have many Witnesses who, I do believe, could readily lay down their Lives to bear Witness to the Truth of that; that is to say, That I call’d not myself to this Place: And, being in it, I bear not Witness to myself; but God and the People of these Nations have borne Testimony to it also.

‘If my Calling be from God, and my Testimony from the People, God and the People shall take it from me, else I will not part with it. I should be false to the Trust that God hath placed in me, and to the Interest of the People of these Nations, if I should.

‘That I call’d not myself to this Place, is my first Assertion.

‘That I bear not Witness to myself, but have many Witnesses, is my second.

‘These are the two Things I shall take the Liberty to speak more fully to you of.

‘To make plain and clear that which I have said, I must take Liberty to look back.

‘I was by Birth a Gentleman, living neither in any considerable Height, nor yet in Obscurity:

‘I

‘ I have been call’d to several Employments in the
 ‘ Nation: To serve in Parliaments; and, because
 ‘ I would not be over-tedious, I did endeavour to
 ‘ discharge the Duty of an honest Man in those
 ‘ Services, to God and his People’s Interest, and
 ‘ of the Commonwealth; having, when Time
 ‘ was, a competent Acceptation in the Hearts of
 ‘ Men, and some Evidences thereof. I resolve
 ‘ not to recite the Times, and Occasions, and Op-
 ‘ portunities that have been appointed me by God
 ‘ to serve him in, nor the Presence and Blessings
 ‘ of God then bearing Testimony to me.

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‘ Having had some Occasions to see (together
 ‘ with my Brethren and Countrymen) a happy Pe-
 ‘ riod put to our sharp Wars and Contests with the
 ‘ then common Enemy, I hoped, in a private Capa-
 ‘ city, to have reap’d the Fruit and Benefit, together
 ‘ with my Brethren, of our hard Labours and Ha-
 ‘ zards; to wit, the Enjoyment of Peace and Li-
 ‘ berty, and the Privileges of a Christian and of
 ‘ a Man, in some Equality with others, according
 ‘ as it should please the Lord to dispense unto me.

‘ And when, I say, God had put an End to our
 ‘ Wars, at least brought them to a very hopeful
 ‘ Issue, very near an End, after *Worcester* Fight I
 ‘ came up to *London* to pay my Service and Duty
 ‘ to the Parliament that then sat; and hoping that
 ‘ all Minds would have been disposed to answer
 ‘ that which seemed to be the Mind of God, *viz.*
 ‘ to give Peace and Rest to his People, and espe-
 ‘ cially to those who had bled more than others in
 ‘ the carrying on of the Military Affairs, I was
 ‘ much disappointed of my Expectation, for the
 ‘ Issue did not prove so; whatever may be boasted
 ‘ or misrepresented, it was not so, nor so.

‘ I can say, in the Simplicity of my Soul, I love
 ‘ not, I love not (I declined it in my former Speech);
 ‘ I say, I love not to rake into Sores, or to disco-
 ‘ ver Nakedness; that which I drive at is this,
 ‘ I say to you, I hoped to have had Leave to have
 ‘ retired to a private Life: I beg’d to be dismissed
 ‘ of my Charge; I beg’d it again and again; and

‘ God

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‘ God be Judge between me and all Men if I lie in
 ‘ this Matter. That I lie not in Matter of Fact,
 ‘ is known to very many ; but whether I tell a Lie
 ‘ in my Heart, as labouring to represent to you
 ‘ that which was not upon my Heart, I say the
 ‘ Lord be Judge ; let uncharitable Men, that mea-
 ‘ sure others by themselves, judge as they please.
 ‘ As to the Matter of Fact, I say it is true. As to
 ‘ the Ingenuity and Integrity of my Heart in that
 ‘ Desire, I do appeal, as before, upon the Truth
 ‘ of that also : But I could not obtain what my
 ‘ Soul longed for. And the plain Truth is, I did
 ‘ afterwards apprehend that some did think (my
 ‘ Judgment not suiting with theirs) that it could
 ‘ not well be. But this, I say to you, was between
 ‘ God and my Soul ; between me and that Assem-
 ‘ bly.

‘ I confess I am in some Strait to say what I could
 ‘ say ; and what is true of what then followed.

‘ I pressed the Parliament, as a Member, to pe-
 ‘ riod themselves, once, and again, and again, and
 ‘ ten, nay twenty Times over. I told them (for
 ‘ I knew it better than any one Man in the Parlia-
 ‘ ment could know it, because of my Manner of
 ‘ Life, which was to run up and down the Nation,
 ‘ and so might see and know the Temper and Spi-
 ‘ rits of all Men, the best of Men) that the Nation
 ‘ loathed their sitting : I knew it. And so far as
 ‘ I could discern, when they were dissolved, there
 ‘ was not so much as the Barking of a Dog, or
 ‘ any general and visible Repining at it. You are
 ‘ not a few here present that can assert this as well
 ‘ as myself.

‘ And that there was high Cause for their Dis-
 ‘ solution, is most evident, not only in regard there
 ‘ was a just Fear of that Parliament’s perpetuating
 ‘ themselves, but because it was their Design.
 ‘ And had not their Heels been trod upon by Im-
 ‘ portunities from abroad, even to Threats, I be-
 ‘ lieve there would never have been Thoughts of
 ‘ rising, or of going out of that Room to the World’s
 ‘ End.

‘ I myself was founded, and by no mean Persons
‘ tempted, and Addresses were made to me to that
‘ very End, that it might have been thus perpetu-
‘ ated : That the vacant Places might be supplied
‘ by new Elections, and so continue from Gene-
‘ ration to Generation.

‘ I have declined, I have declined very much,
‘ to open these Things to you ; yet having pro-
‘ ceeded thus far, I must tell you, that poor Men,
‘ under this arbitrary Power, were driven like
‘ Flocks of Sheep, by forty in a Morning, to the
‘ Confiscation of Goods and Estates, without any
‘ Man being able to give a Reason that two of them
‘ had deserved to forfeit a Shilling. I tell you the
‘ Truth, and my Soul, and many Persons whose
‘ Faces I see in this Place, were exceedingly grie-
‘ ved at these Things, and knew not which Way
‘ to help it, but by their Mournings, and giving
‘ their Negatives when Occasions served.

‘ I have given you but a Taste of Miscarri-
‘ ages. I am confident you have had Opportuni-
‘ ties to hear much more of them ; for nothing is
‘ more obvious. ’Tis true this will be said, That
‘ there was a Remedy to put an End to this perpe-
‘ tual Parliament endeavoured, by having a future
‘ Representative. How it was gotten, and by
‘ what Importunities that was obtained, and how
‘ unwillingly yeilded unto, is well known.

‘ What was this Remedy ? It was a seeming
‘ Willingness to have successive Parliaments. What
‘ was that Succession ? It was, that when one Par-
‘ liament had left their Seat, another was to sit
‘ down immediately in the room thereof, without
‘ any Caution to avoid that which was the Danger,
‘ viz. perpetuating of the same Parliaments ; which
‘ is a Sore now that will ever be running, so long
‘ as Men are ambitious and troublesome, if a due
‘ Remedy be not found. So then, what was the
‘ Business ? It was a Conversion from a Parliament
‘ that should have been, and was perpetual, to a
‘ Legislative Power always sitting : And so the Li-
‘ berties, and Interests, and Lives of People, not

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‘ judged by any certain known Laws and Power,
 ‘ but by an arbitrary Power, which is incident
 ‘ and necessary to Parliaments: By an arbitrary
 ‘ Power, I say, to make Men’s Estates liable to
 ‘ Confiscation, and their Persons to Imprisonments;
 ‘ sometimes by Laws made after the Fact committed,
 ‘ often by taking the Judgment, both in capital
 ‘ and criminal Things, to themselves; who,
 ‘ in former Times, were not known to exercise
 ‘ such a Judicature.

‘ This I suppose was the Case, and, in my Opinion,
 ‘ the Remedy was fitted to the Disease;
 ‘ especially coming in the Rear of a Parliament,
 ‘ so exercising the Power and Authority as this had
 ‘ done but immediately before.

‘ Truly, I confess, upon these Grounds, and
 ‘ with the Satisfaction of divers other Persons, seeing
 ‘ nothing could be had otherwise, that Parliament
 ‘ was dissolv’d; and we desiring to see if a few
 ‘ might have been call’d together for some short
 ‘ Time, who might put the Nation into some Way
 ‘ of certain Settlement, did call those Gentlemen
 ‘ out of the several Parts of the Nation for that
 ‘ Purpose.

‘ And, as I have appealed to God before you
 ‘ already, I know, (and I hope I may say it)
 ‘ though it be a tender Thing to make Appeals to
 ‘ God, yet, in such Exigences as these, I trust it
 ‘ will not offend his Majesty; especially to make
 ‘ them before Persons that know God, and know
 ‘ what Conscience is, and what it is to lie before
 ‘ the Lord: I say, that as a principal End in calling
 ‘ that Assembly, was the Settlement of the Nation;
 ‘ so a chief End to myself was, that I might have
 ‘ Opportunity to lay down the Power that was in
 ‘ my Hands. I say to you again, in the Presence
 ‘ of that God who hath blessed and been with me in
 ‘ all my Adversities and Successes, that was, as to
 ‘ myself, my greatest End. A Desire perhaps, I am
 ‘ afraid, sinful enough, to be quit of the Power
 ‘ God had most providentially put into my Hand,
 ‘ before he called for it; and before those honest
 ‘ Ends

‘ Ends of our fighting were attained and settled. I
‘ say, the Authority I had in my Hand being so
‘ boundless as it was, I being, by Act of Parlia-
‘ ment, General of all the Forces in the three Na-
‘ tions of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, (in which
‘ unlimited Condition I did not desire to live a
‘ Day) did call that Meeting for the Ends before
‘ expressed.

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‘ What the Event and Issue of that Meeting was,
‘ we may sadly remember: It hath much Teaching
‘ in it, and I hope will make us all wiser for the
‘ future. But this Meeting not succeeding, as I
‘ have formerly said to you, and giving such a Dis-
‘ appointment to our Hopes, I shall not now make
‘ any Repetition thereof; only the Effect was,
‘ That they came and brought to me a Parch-
‘ ment, signed by very much the major Part of
‘ them, expressing their Resigning and Re-delivery
‘ of the Power and Authority that was committed
‘ to them back again into my Hands: And I can
‘ say it, in the Presence of divers Persons here,
‘ that do know whether I lie in that, that I did
‘ not know one Tittle of that Resignation, untill
‘ they all came and brought it, and delivered it
‘ into my Hands: Of this there are also in this
‘ Presence many Witnesses.

‘ I received this Resignation, having formerly
‘ used my Endeavours and Persuasions to keep
‘ them together; observing their Differences, I
‘ thought it my Duty to give Advice to them,
‘ that so I might prevail with them for Union:
‘ But it had the Effect that I told you, and I had
‘ my Disappointment.

‘ When this was so, we were exceedingly to
‘ seek how to settle Things for the future. My
‘ Power again, by this Resignation, was as bound-
‘ less and unlimited as before; all Things being
‘ subjected to Arbitrariness, and myself a Person ha-
‘ ving Power over the three Nations boundlessly
‘ and unlimited; and, upon the Matter, all Go-
‘ vernment dissolved, all Civil Administrations at
‘ an End, as will presently be made appear.

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‘ The Gentlemen that undertook to frame this Government, did consult divers Days together (they being of known Integrity and Ability) how to frame somewhat that might give us Settlement; and they did so: And that I was not privy to their Councils, they know it.

‘ When they had finished their Model in some Measure, or made a very good Preparation of it, it became communicative. They told me that except I would undertake the Government, they thought Things would hardly come to a Composition and Settlement; but Blood and Confusion would break in upon us. I denied it again and again, as God and those Persons know; not complimentingly, as they also know, and as God knows.

‘ I confess, after many Arguments, and after the letting of me know that I did not receive any Thing that put me into any higher Capacity than I was in before; but that it limited me, and bound my Hands to act nothing to the Prejudice of these Nations, without Consent of a Council, untill the Parliament, and then limited by the Parliament, as the Act of Government expresseth, I did accept it.

‘ I might repeat this again to you, if it were needfull; but I think I need not. I was arbitrary in Power, having the Armies in the three Nations under my Command; and truly not very ill beloved by them, nor very ill beloved then by the People, by the good People; and I believe I should have been more beloved if they had known the Truth, as Things were before God, and in themselves, and before divers of those Gentlemen whom I but now mentioned unto you.

‘ I did, at the Intreaty of divers Persons of Honour and Quality, at the Intreaty of very many of the chief Officers of the Army then present, and at their Request, I did accept of the Place and Title of Protector; and was in the Presence of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Judges, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of

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‘ London, the Soldiery, divers Gentlemen, Citizens, and divers other People and Persons of Quality, &c. accompanied to *Westminster-Hall*, where I took my Oath to this Government. This was not done in a Corner; it was open and public.

‘ This Government hath been exercised by a Council, with a Desire to be faithful in all Things; and, amongst all other Trusts, to be faithful in calling this Parliament.

‘ And thus I have given you a very bare and lean Discourse; which truly I have been necessitated unto, and contracted in, because of the Unexpectedness of the Occasion, and because I would not quite weary you nor myself: But this is a Narrative that discovers to you the Series of Providence, and of Transactions leading me into this Condition wherein I now stand.

‘ The next Thing I promised you, wherein I hope I shall not be so long, (though I am sure this Occasion does require Plainness and Freedom) is, That I brought not myself into this Condition, as in my own Apprehension I did not; and that I did not, the Things being true which I have told you, I submit it to your Judgments, and there shall I leave it, let God do what he pleaseth: The other Things I say that I am to speak to you of, are, That I have not, nor do not bear Witness to myself. I am far from aluding to him that said so; yet Truth concerning a Member of his he will own, tho’ Men do not.

‘ But I think, if I mistake not, I have a Cloud of Witnesses. I think so; let Men be as forward as they will. I have Witness within, without, and above. But I shall speak of them that are without, having fully spoken before of the Witness above, and the Witness in my own Conscience, upon the other Account; because that Subject had more Obscurity in it, and I in some Sort needed Appeals; and, I trust, might lawfully make them, as well as take an Oath, where Things were not so apt to be made evident. I

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‘ shall enumerate my Witnesses as well as I can.
 ‘ When I had consented to accept of the Government, there was some Solemnity to be performed; and that was accompanied with some Persons of Considerableness in all Respects; who were the Persons before expressed, and who accompanied me, at the Time of my entering upon this Government, to *Westminster-Hall* to take my Oath.

‘ There was an explicit Consent of interested Persons, and an implicit Consent of many, shewing their Good-liking and Approbation thereof. And, Gentlemen, I do not think that you are altogether Strangers to it in your Country: Some did not nauseate it; very many did approve it.

‘ I had the Approbation of the Officers of the Army in the three Nations of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*; I say of the Officers: I had that by their Remonstrances and under Signature. There went, along with that explicit Consent, an implicit Consent of Persons that had somewhat to do in the World; that had been instrumental, by God, to fight down the Enemies of God and his People in the three Nations. And, truly, untill my Hands were bound, and I limited, (wherein I took full Contentment, as many can bear me Witness) when I had in my Hands so great a Power and Arbitrariness, the Soldiery were a very considerable Part of the Nations, especially all Government being dissolved: I say, when all Government was thus dissolved, and nothing to keep Things in Order but the Sword, and yet they, (which many Histories will not parallel) even they were desirous that Things might come to a Consistency, and Arbitrariness might be taken away, and the Government put into a Person, limited and bounded, as in the Act of Settlement, whom they distrusted the least, and loved not the worst: This was another Evidence.

‘ I would not forget the honourable and civil Entertainment, with the Approbation I found in
 ‘ the

‘ the great City of *London*; which the City knows
 ‘ whether I directly or indirectly sought. And,
 ‘ truly, I do not think it is Folly to remember this;
 ‘ for it was very great and high, and very public;
 ‘ and as numerous a Body of those that are known
 ‘ by Names and Titles (the several Corporations
 ‘ and Societies of Citizens in this City) as hath
 ‘ been at any Time seen in *England*; and not
 ‘ without some Appearance of Satisfaction also.

‘ I had not only this Witness; but I have had,
 ‘ from the greatest County in *England*, and from
 ‘ many Cities and Boroughs, and many Counties,
 ‘ explicit Approbations; not of those gathered here
 ‘ and there, but from the County of *York* and City
 ‘ of *York*, and other Counties and Places, assem-
 ‘ bled in their public and general Assizes; the
 ‘ Grand Jury, in the Name of the Noblemen,
 ‘ Gentlemen, Yeomen, and Inhabitants of that
 ‘ County, giving very great Thanks to me for un-
 ‘ dertaking this heavy Burden at such a Time; and
 ‘ giving very great Approbation and Encourage-
 ‘ ment to me to go through with it. These are
 ‘ plain; I have them to shew; and by these, in
 ‘ some Measure, it will appear I do not bear Wit-
 ‘ ness to myself.

‘ This is not all: The Judges (and truly I had
 ‘ almost forgotten it) thinking that there was a
 ‘ Dissolution of Government, met and consulted,
 ‘ and did declare one to another, that they could
 ‘ not administer Justice to the Satisfaction of their
 ‘ Consciences, untill they had received Commis-
 ‘ sions from me, and they did receive Commissions
 ‘ from me; and by virtue of those Commissions they
 ‘ have acted, and all the Justices of the Peace that
 ‘ have acted, have acted by virtue of like Com-
 ‘ missions; which was a little more than an implicit
 ‘ Approbation. And I believe all the Justice ad-
 ‘ ministered in the Nation hath been by this Au-
 ‘ thority; which also I lay before you, desiring you
 ‘ to think whether all these Persons before-men-
 ‘ tioned must not come before you for an Act of
 ‘ Oblivion and general Pardon, who have acted
 ‘ under

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‘ under, and testified to, this Government, if it
 ‘ be disowned by you.

‘ I have two or three Witnesses more, equiva-
 ‘ lent to all these I have reckoned, if I be not mis-
 ‘ taken, and greatly mistaken. If I should say, all
 ‘ you that are here are my Witnesses, I should say
 ‘ no Untruth. I know you are the same Persons
 ‘ here that you were in the Country; But I will
 ‘ reserve to speak to this at the last; for this will
 ‘ be the Issue of my Speech.

‘ I say, I have two or three Witnesses that are
 ‘ more than all I have accounted and reckoned be-
 ‘ fore: For all the People in *England* are my Wit-
 ‘ nesses, and many in *Ireland* and *Scotland*. All
 ‘ the Sheriffs in *England* are my Witnesses; and
 ‘ all that came in upon the Process issued out by
 ‘ the Sheriffs are my Witnesses; yea, the Returns
 ‘ of the Elections to the Clerk of the Crown, not
 ‘ a Thing to be blown away with a Breath, the
 ‘ Returns on the Behalf of the Inhabitants in the
 ‘ Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, all are my Wit-
 ‘ nesses of Approbation to the Condition and Place
 ‘ I stand in.

‘ And I shall now make you my last Witnesses,
 ‘ and ask you whether you came not hither by my
 ‘ Writs, directed to the several Sheriffs, and so to
 ‘ other Officers in Cities and Liberties, to which
 ‘ the People gave Obedience; having also had the
 ‘ Act of Government communicated to them, to
 ‘ which End great Numbers of Copies were sent
 ‘ down, on purpose to be communicated to them;
 ‘ and the Government also required to be distinctly
 ‘ read unto the People at the Place of Elections,
 ‘ to avoid Surprizes; where also they signed the
 ‘ Indenture, with Proviso, *That the Persons so*
 ‘ *chosen should not have Power to alter the Govern-*
 ‘ *ment, as now settled in one single Person and a*
 ‘ *Parliament.*

‘ And thus I have made good my second Asser-
 ‘ tion That I bear not Witness to myself; but the
 ‘ good People of *England*, and you all, are my
 ‘ Witnesses,

‘ Yea,

‘ Yea, surely ; and this being so, though I told
 ‘ you in my last Speech that you were a Free Par-
 ‘ liament, yet I thought it was understood that I
 ‘ was the Protector, and the Authority that called
 ‘ you ; and that I was in Possession of the Govern-
 ‘ ment by a good Right from God and Men. And,
 ‘ I believe, if the learnedst Men in this Nation
 ‘ were called to shew a Precedent so clear, so many
 ‘ Ways approving of a Government, they would
 ‘ not in all their Search find it.

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‘ I did not, in my other Speech to you, take
 ‘ upon me to justify the Government in every Par-
 ‘ ticular, and I told you the Reason of it, which
 ‘ was plain : It was public, and had been long pub-
 ‘ lished, that it might be under the most serious
 ‘ Inspection of all that pleased to peruse it.

‘ By what I have said, I have approved myself
 ‘ to God and my Conscience in my Actions, and
 ‘ in this Undertaking ; and I have given Cause of
 ‘ approving myself to every one of your Conscien-
 ‘ ces in the Sight of God.

‘ If it be so, why should we sport with it ? with
 ‘ a Business thus serious ? May not this Character,
 ‘ this Stamp, bear equal Poise with any Hereditary
 ‘ Interest, which may have, and hath had, in the
 ‘ Common Law, Matters of Dispute and Trial of
 ‘ Learning ; wherein many have exercised more
 ‘ Wit, and spilt more Blood, than I hope ever to
 ‘ live to see or hear of in this Nation ?

‘ I say, I do not know why I may not balance
 ‘ this Providence, as in the Sight of God, with any
 ‘ Hereditary Interest, as being less subject to those
 ‘ Cracks and Flaws that is commonly incident
 ‘ unto ; which Titles have cost more Blood, in
 ‘ former Times, in this Nation, than we have Lei-
 ‘ sure to speak of now.

‘ Now if this be thus, and I am deriving a Title
 ‘ from God and Men, upon such Accounts as these
 ‘ are ; although some Men be froward, yet that
 ‘ your Judgments who are Persons sent from all
 ‘ Parts of the Nation, under the Notion of Ac-
 ‘ ceptance

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‘ ceptance of the Government; for you to dis-
 ‘ own, or not to own it; for you to act with Par-
 ‘ liamentary Authority, especially in the Disown-
 ‘ ing of it, contrary to the very Fundamental
 ‘ Things; yea, against the very Root itself of this
 ‘ Establishment; to sit, and not own the Autho-
 ‘ rity by which you sit, is that which, I believe,
 ‘ astonisheth more Men than myself; and doth as
 ‘ dangerously disappoint and discompose the Na-
 ‘ tion, as any Thing could have been invented by
 ‘ the greatest Enemy to our Peace and Welfare, or
 ‘ could well have happened.

‘ It is true, there are some Things in the Esta-
 ‘ blishment that are Fundamental, and some
 ‘ Things are not so, but are Circumstantial: Of
 ‘ such, no Question but I shall easily agree to vary
 ‘ or leave out, as I shall be convinced by Reason.
 ‘ Some Things are Fundamentals, about which I
 ‘ shall deal plainly with you: These may not be
 ‘ parted with; but will, I trust, be delivered over
 ‘ to Posterity, as being the Fruits of our Blood
 ‘ and Travel.

‘ The Government by a single Person and a Par-
 ‘ liament is a Fundamental; it is the *Essè*; it is
 ‘ Constitutive. And for the Person, though I may
 ‘ seem to plead for myself, yet I do not; no, nor
 ‘ can any reasonable Man say it: But, if the
 ‘ Things throughout this Speech be true, I plead
 ‘ for this Nation, and all honest Men therein, who
 ‘ have borne their Testimony as aforesaid, and not
 ‘ for myself: And if Things should do otherwise
 ‘ than well, which I would not fear, and the com-
 ‘ mon Enemy and discontented Persons take Ad-
 ‘ vantage at these Distractions, the Issue will be put
 ‘ up before God: Let him own, or let him disown
 ‘ it, as he pleases.

‘ In every Government there must be somewhat
 ‘ Fundamental, somewhat like a *Magna Charta*,
 ‘ that should be standing, and be unalterable.
 ‘ Where there is a Stipulation on one Part, and that
 ‘ fully accepted, as appears by what hath been said,
 ‘ surely

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‘ surely a Return ought to be ; else what does that
‘ Stipulation signify ? If I have, upon the Terms
‘ afore said, undertaken this great Trust, and exer-
‘ cised it, and, by it, called you, surely it ought to
‘ be owned.

‘ That Parliaments should not make themselves
‘ perpetual, is a Fundamental. Of what Assurance
‘ is a Law to prevent so great an Evil, if it lie in
‘ one or the same Legislature to un law it again ?
‘ Is this like to be lasting ? It will be a Rope of
‘ Sand ; it will give no Security ; for the same Men
‘ may unbuild what they have built.

‘ Is not Liberty of Conscience in Religion a
‘ Fundamental ? So long as there is Liberty of
‘ Conscience for the Supreme Magistrate to exer-
‘ cise his Conscience in erecting what Form of
‘ Church-Government he is satisfied he should set
‘ up, why should he not give it to others ? Liberty
‘ of Conscience is a natural Right ; and he that
‘ would have it, ought to give it ; having Liberty
‘ to settle what he likes for the Public.

‘ Indeed that hath been one of the Vanities of
‘ our Contest : Every Sect saith, Oh ! give me Li-
‘ berty. But give him it, and, to his Power, he
‘ will not yield it to any Body else. Where is our
‘ Ingenuity ! truly that is a Thing ought to be very
‘ reciprocal. The Magistrate hath his Supre-
‘ macy, and he may settle Religion according to
‘ his Conscience. And I may say it to you : I can
‘ say it : All the Money of this Nation would not
‘ have tempted Men to fight, upon such an Ac-
‘ count as they have engaged, if they had not had
‘ Hopes of Liberty better than they had from Epif-
‘ copacy, or than would have been afforded them
‘ from a *Scots* Presbytery, or an *English* either ; if
‘ it had made such Steps, or been as sharp and rigid,
‘ as it threatened when it was first set up.

‘ This, I say, is a Fundamental. It ought to
‘ be so : It is for us and the Generations to come.
‘ And if there be an Absoluteness in the Imposer,
‘ without fitting Allowances and Exceptions from
‘ the Rule, we shall have our People driven into

‘ Wil-

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‘ Wilderesses, as they were when those poor and
 ‘ afflicted People, that forsook their Estates and In-
 ‘ heritances here, where they lived plentifully and
 ‘ comfortably, for the Enjoyment of their Liber-
 ‘ ty, were necessitated to go into a vast howling
 ‘ Wilderness in *New-England*; where they have,
 ‘ for Liberty’s Sake, stript themselves of all their
 ‘ Comfort, and the full Enjoyment they had, em-
 ‘ bracing rather Loss of Friends, and Want, than
 ‘ to be so ensnared and in Bondage.

‘ Another, which I had forgotten, is the Militia;
 ‘ that is judged a Fundamental, if any Thing be
 ‘ so. That it should be well and equally placed,
 ‘ is very necessary; for put the absolute Power of the
 ‘ Militia into one without a Check, what doth it
 ‘ answer? I pray you, what Check is there put
 ‘ upon your perpetual Parliaments, if it be wholly
 ‘ stript of this? It is equally placed, and Desires
 ‘ were to have it so, viz. in one Person, and the
 ‘ Parliament, sitting the Parliament. What signi-
 ‘ fies a Provision against perpetuating of Parlia-
 ‘ ments, if this be solely in them? Whether, with-
 ‘ out a Check, the Parliament have not Liberty to
 ‘ alter the Frame of Government to Aristocracy, to
 ‘ Democracy, to Anarchy, to any Thing, if this be
 ‘ fully in them? Yea, into all Confusion, and that
 ‘ without Remedy? And if this one Thing be
 ‘ placed in one, that one, be it Parliament, be it a
 ‘ Supreme Governor, they or he hath Power to
 ‘ make what they please of all the rest.

‘ Therefore, if you would have a Balance at all,
 ‘ and that some Fundamentals must stand, which
 ‘ may be worthy to be delivered over to Posterity,
 ‘ truly, I think, it is not unreasonably urged, that
 ‘ the Militia should be disposed, as it is laid down
 ‘ in the Government; and that it should be so e-
 ‘ qually placed, that one Person, neither in Parlia-
 ‘ ment, nor out of Parliament, should have the
 ‘ Power of ordering it. The Council are the Tru-
 ‘ stees of the Commonwealth, in all Intervals of
 ‘ Parliaments, who have as absolute a Negative
 ‘ upon the Supreme Officer in the said Intervals,

‘ as

‘ as the Parliament hath whilst it is sitting. It
 ‘ cannot be made Use of, a Man cannot be raised,
 ‘ nor a Penny charged upon the People; nothing
 ‘ done without Consent of Parliament: And, in
 ‘ the Intervals of Parliament, without Consent of
 ‘ the Council, it is not to be exercised.

‘ Give me Leave to say, That there is very lit-
 ‘ tle Power, none but what is Co-ordinate in the
 ‘ Supreme Officer; and yet enough in him that
 ‘ hath the Chief Government in that particular:
 ‘ He is bound in Strictness by the Parliament; and
 ‘ out of Parliament, by the Council, that do as
 ‘ absolutely bind him as the Parliament doth when
 ‘ the Parliament is sitting.

‘ For that of Money; I told you some Things
 ‘ are Circumstantial; as to have 200,000*l.* to de-
 ‘ fray Civil Officers, to pay the Judges and other
 ‘ Officers, defraying the Charges of the Council,
 ‘ in sending their Embassies, in keeping Intelligence,
 ‘ and doing that which is necessary, and for support-
 ‘ ing the Governor in Chief: All this is, by the In-
 ‘ strument, supposed and intended: But it is not of
 ‘ the *Effè* so much, and so limited, as so many Sol-
 ‘ diers are, that is 20,000 Foot and 10,000 Horse.
 ‘ Yet, if the Spirits of Men be composed, 5000
 ‘ Horse and 10,000 Foot may serve. These
 ‘ Things are between the Chief Officer and the
 ‘ Parliament, to be moderated as Occasion shall
 ‘ offer.

‘ So there are many other circumstantial Things,
 ‘ which are not like the Laws of the *Medes* and
 ‘ *Persians*: But the Things which shall be neces-
 ‘ sary to deliver over to Posterity, these should be
 ‘ unalterable; else every succeeding Parliament will
 ‘ be disputing to change and alter the Government,
 ‘ and we shall be as often brought into Confusion
 ‘ as we have Parliaments, and so make our Re-
 ‘ medy our Disease. The Lord’s Providence, ap-
 ‘ pearing Evils, appearing Good, and better Judg-
 ‘ ment, will give Occasion for the ordering of
 ‘ Things for the best Interest of the People; and
 ‘ those

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‘ those Things are the Matter of Consideration between you and me.

‘ I have indeed almost tired myself: That which I have further to say is this, I would it had not been needful for me to have called you hither to have expostulated these Things with you, and in such a Manner as this is; but Necessity hath no Law. Feigned Necessities, imaginary Necessities, are the greatest Cozenage that Men can put upon the Providence of God, and make Pretences to break known Rules by. But it is as legal, and as carnal, and as stupid, to think that there are no Necessities that are manifest Necessities, because Necessities may be abused or feigned; and, truly, I should be so, if I should think so; and I hope none of you think so.

‘ I say, that the wilful Throwings-away of this Government, such as it is, so owned by God, so approved by Men, so testified to, in the Fundamentals of it, as is before mentioned, and that in relation to the Good of these Nations and Posterity; I can sooner be willing to be rolled into my Grave, and buried with Infamy, than I can give my Consent unto.

‘ You have been called hither together to save a Nation;—Nations. You had the best People indeed in the Christian World in your Trust, when you came hither: You had Affairs and these Nations delivered over to you in Peace and Quietness: You were, and we all were, put into an uninterrupted Possession, Nobody making Title to us: Through the Blessing of God our Enemies were hopeless and scattered: We had Peace at home; Peace almost with all Neighbours round about; fit to take Advantages where God did administer them.

‘ To have our Peace and Interest, that had those Hopes the other Day, thus shaken, and under such a Confusion, and we rendered hereby almost the Scorn and Contempt of those Strangers that are amongst us to negotiate their Master’s Affairs;

' fairs; to give them Opportunity to see our Na-
 ' kedness as they do, a People that have been un-
 ' hinged this Twelve-years-day, and unhinged
 ' still, as if Scattering, Division, and Confusion
 ' should come upon us as if it were desired, which
 ' are the greatest Plagues God ordinarily lays upon
 ' Nations for Sin: I would be loath to say these are
 ' Matters of our Delight; but, if not, why not the
 ' Matter of our Care, so wisely as we ought by ut-
 ' termost Endeavours to avoid? Nay, when by such
 ' Actions as these are, these poor Nations shall be
 ' thrown into Heaps of Confusion, through Blood,
 ' and Ruin, and Trouble, upon the saddest Ac-
 ' count that ever was, if Breaking should come
 ' upon us, and all because we would not settle
 ' when we might; when God put it into our
 ' Hands! Your Affairs now almost settled every
 ' where; and to have all recoil upon us, and we
 ' ourselves shaken in our Affections, loosened from
 ' all known and public Interests, as I have men-
 ' tioned to you; who shall answer for these Things
 ' to God? Who can answer for these Things to
 ' God, or to Men? To the People that sent you
 ' hither, who look'd for Refreshment from you;
 ' who look'd for nothing but Peace, and Quiet-
 ' ness, and Rest, and Settlement? And when we
 ' shall come to give an Account to them, we shall
 ' be able to say, Oh! we have quarrell'd for, and
 ' we contested for, the Liberty of *England*; where-
 ' in, forsooth, for the Liberty of the People? I
 ' appeal to the Lord, that the Desires and Endea-
 ' vours, and the Things themselves, will speak for
 ' themselves; that the Liberty of *England*, the Li-
 ' berty of the People, the avoiding of tyrannous
 ' Impositions, either upon Men as Men, or Chri-
 ' stians as Christians, is made so safe by this Act
 ' of Settlement, that it will speak sufficiently for
 ' itself.

' And when it shall appear what hath been said
 ' and done, and what our Transactions have been;
 ' for God can discover, and no Privilege will hin-

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‘ der the Lord from discovering, no Privilege or
 ‘ Condition of Men can hide from the Lord; he
 ‘ can, and will, make all manifest, if he see it for
 ‘ his Glory. And when these shall, by the Provi-
 ‘ dence of God, be manifested, and the People shall
 ‘ come and say, Gentlemen, what Condition are
 ‘ we in? We hoped for Light, and behold Dark-
 ‘ ness, obscure Darknes. We hoped for Rest,
 ‘ after ten Years Civil Wars, but are plunged into
 ‘ deep Confusion again. Aye, we know these Con-
 ‘ sequences will come upon us, if God Almighty
 ‘ shall not find out some Way to prevent them.

‘ I had this Thought within myself, that it had
 ‘ not been dishonest, nor dishonourable, nor against
 ‘ true Liberty, no not of Parliaments, when a Par-
 ‘ liament was so chosen, in Pursuance of, in Con-
 ‘ formity to, and with such an Approbation and
 ‘ Consent to the Government, so that he that runs
 ‘ might read by what Authority you came hither,
 ‘ that an Owning of your Call, and of the Autho-
 ‘ rity bringing you hither, might have been re-
 ‘ quired before your Entrance into the House; but
 ‘ this was declined, and hath not been done, be-
 ‘ cause I am persuaded scarce any Man could rea-
 ‘ sonably doubt you came with contrary Minds.
 ‘ And I have Reason to believe the People that sent
 ‘ you least doubted thereof at all; and therefore I
 ‘ must deal plainly with you: What I forbore up-
 ‘ on a just Confidence at first, you necessitate me
 ‘ unto now; that seeing the Authority calling you
 ‘ is so little valued, and so much slighted, till some
 ‘ such Assurance be given and made known, that
 ‘ the Fundamental Interest of the Government be
 ‘ settled and approved, according to the Proviso
 ‘ contained in the Return, and such a Consent tes-
 ‘ tified as will make it appear that the same is ac-
 ‘ cepted, I have caused a Stop to be put to your
 ‘ Entrance into the Parliament-House.

‘ I am sorry, I am sorry, and I could be sorry
 ‘ to the Death, that there is Cause for this: But
 ‘ there is Cause, and if Things be not satisfied that
 ‘ are

‘are reasonably demanded, I, for my Part, shall do that which becomes me, seeking my Counsel from God.

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‘There is therefore somewhat to be offered to you, that, I hope, will answer, being understood with the Qualifications that I have told you of; reforming Circumstantials, and agreeing in the Substance and Fundamentals, which is the Government settled, as it is expressed in the Indentures, not to be altered. The making your Minds known in that, by giving your Assent and Subscription to it, is that which will let you in to act those Things as a Parliament, which are for the Good of the People. And this Thing shewed to you, and signed as aforesaid, doth determine the Controversy, and may give a happy Progress and Issue to this Parliament.

‘The Place where you may come thus and sign, as many as God shall make free thereunto, is in the Lobby without the Parliament-Door.

‘The Government doth declare, that you have a Legislative Power without a Negative from me. As the Government doth express you may make any Laws, and if I give not my Consent within twenty Days to the passing your Laws, they are, *ipso Facto*, Laws, whether I consent or no, if not contrary to the Government. You have an absolute Legislative Power in all things that can possibly concern the Good and Interest of the Public; and, I think, you may make these Nations happy by this Settlement; and I, for my Part, shall be willing to be bound more than I am, in any Thing that I may be convinced of may be for the Good of the People, in Preservation of the Cause and Interest so long contended for.’

The Lord Protector having thus fairly told the Parliament what they were to expect, the Members returned to their House, where they found a Guard placed to prevent their Re-entry, till such Time as they had subscribed the following Recognition; a Copy of which, ingrossed on Parchment,

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was laid upon a Table in the Lobby for that Purpose, *in hæc Verba* :

I do hereby freely promise and engage to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector, and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and shall not, according to the Tenor of the Indenture whereby I am returned to serve in this present Parliament, propose, or give my Consent, to alter the Government, as it is settled in One Person and a Parliament,

The Speaker and about 130 Members more subscribed this Recognition forthwith, and resumed their Seats in the House: And then, on account of the next Day being the Fast, adjourned to the 14th.

Not the least Notice is taken of this high Infringement of the Liberties of Parliament in the *Journals*: And the only Entry made therein on the 12th (the Day that *Cromwell* put this Force upon the Members) is the Adjournment to the 14th. In the Proceedings of which Day we find a Vote of the House, that seems to have been pass'd with no other Intent than to explain away, in great Measure, the Recognition they had been compell'd to subscribe, *viz.*

‘*Resolved*, That some Members of the House be appointed immediately to withdraw; and, upon the present Debate and Sense of the House, for further Satisfaction in reference to the Subscription, to prepare somewhat to be offer'd to them for their further Consideration. Soon after the Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke*, from the said Committee, reported a Paper, containing these Words, *viz.*

‘The Parliament doth declare, That the Recognition of the Government by the Members of this Parliament, in the Words following, *viz.* [*Here follows the Form as before given*] doth not comprehend, nor shall be construed to comprehend, therein the whole Government, consisting of forty-two Articles; but that the same doth only include what

what concerns the Government of the Commonwealth, by a Single Person and successive Parliaments.'

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This Declaration being several Times read in the House, was, upon the Question, passed, without any Division, and ordered to be forthwith printed and published: And the same Day the Recognition was subscribed by 193 Members more.

Tho' the Parliament had been compelled, by Force of Arms, to sign the Recognition required by *Cromwell*; which is the Reason, probably, why the whole Transaction of the 12th, relating to his Highness's Speech; the Guard set upon the Door of the House to prevent their Re-entry; and the Subscription made on the 12th and 14th, are wholly omitted in the *Journals*; yet it seems, by those Authorities, as if the Members were desirous to put the best Face they could upon the Matter, and save their own Honour by representing that to the Public as the Result of their Choice, which was the meer Effect of Necessity: For,

Sept. 18. The House resolved, ' That all Persons returned, or who shall be returned, to serve in this Parliament, shall, before they be admitted to sit in the House, subscribe the Recognition of the Government; and that it be done in the Presence of any two Members who had subscribed it before.'

The next Thing done was to read a Declaration for observing another Day of solemn Humiliation.—Whether the secret Motive for this Fast was to request the Assistance of Heaven to protect them from *Cromwell's* farther Infringement of their Privileges, or to implore the Divine Mercy upon themselves for thus subscribing a Promise to support what it appears, by the following Proceedings, most of them meant to overturn, we know not: But the public Reasons they gave for appointing a second General Fast so soon after keeping the first, will best

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appear by the Declaration itself; which being pass'd by the House, a Committee was appointed to attend the Lord Protector therewith. And the next Day the Earl of *Salisbury* having reported his Highness's Concurrence, the Declaration was ordered to be printed and published as follows :

And pass a Declaration, with Reasons for observing another general Fast.

‘ **W**H O is such a Stranger in our *Israel*, that hath not taken Notice of the great Things God hath brought to pass amongst us by his out-stretched Arm? What Nation is there who hath had God more nigh unto them, than the Lord our God hath been to us, in all Things we have called unto him for? Ask of the Days that are past, which have been before us in these latter Ages, whether there has been any such Thing as those many Blessings and signal Deliverances vouchsafed to us from his own Hand, in Answer to the Voice of Tears and Blood that have been poured forth?

‘ But, in the mean while, this is Matter of great Lamentation; whilst God, by a continual Series of his Loving-kindnesses and Providences, hath multiplied Mercies and Forgivenesses to us. we of these Nations, instead of an answerable Return of Thankfulness and Obedience, have, as the highest Aggravation of our Sin, multiplied our Provocations against him;

‘ In that general Ignorance, Unthankfulness, and Unfruitfulness, under all those Dews of Grace and Gospel-Mercies;

‘ In not acknowledging fully, to this very Day, our Calamities to have come upon us from the Hands of God alone, provoked by us, who useth what Instruments he pleaseth to execute his Indignation;

‘ In not bemoaning ourselves as Sons, and smiting upon our Thighs with *Ephraim*, in the Sense of our own Iniquities, and of the Patience and forbearing Mercies of our Heavenly Father;

‘ In that profane, sensual, worldly, formal, and *Levitean* Spirit generally amongst us; some ha-

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‘ting the Power of Godliness, and despising the true Professors thereof, for having the Image of God upon them; and others, by being loose in their Opinions and Practices, have turned the Grace of God into Wantonness;

‘In that great Neglect and Want of Zeal and Courage in Magistrates, and other Officers and Persons therein concerned, to suppress Enormities, in Conscience to perform the Duty incumbent upon them to God and Man.

‘All which, with other the crying Sins of these three Nations, call aloud upon us, that as we are now united to be one Commonwealth under one Government, so having been sinful and sufferers together, we would, with one Heart and Lip, be persuaded to unite in our humble and serious Addresses and Supplications to Almighty God:

‘That the Fruit of all our Mercies might not be, with *Jesurun*, to kick or to be found Fight-ers against him, nor Opposers of his Will, as if we were preserved to commit yet more Abominations:

‘That we may wrestle and prevail with him for Pardon and Removal of our Darknes, Vanities, Blasphemies, and Profaneness, with all that Worldly-mindedness, Formality, and other Abominations, which are yet found amongst us under the glorious Light of the Gospel:

‘That as God hath been pleased to make Choice of these Islands, wherein to manifest many great and glorious Things, so he would answerably make us a chosen Generation, and a peculiar People, that, in Thankfulness to him, and Example to others, we might shew forth his Praises who hath separated us from other Nations, and called us out of Darknes into his Light:

‘That God would now speak with a strong Hand to quiet the Spirits of Men that are apt to murmur, by causing them clearly to see where the true and spiritual Interest of Christians lieth, and that in keeping close thereunto is wrapt up their Safety; that so, when he uttereth his Voice,

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‘ all Flesh may be silent before him, and know
 ‘ that he is raised out of his holy Habitation :

‘ That tho’ he hath had just Cause to be angry
 ‘ with us for our Murmurings, Backslidings, and
 ‘ other Iniquities, and hath therefore smitten us, yet
 ‘ that he would now heal us, and restore Comfort
 ‘ to us and our Mourners :

‘ And especially that God would enable the
 ‘ Rulers of these Nations, now in Consultation
 ‘ about their Peace, Settlement, and Welfare, to
 ‘ proceed with Faithfulness, Zeal, Wisdom, and
 ‘ Union, to fulfill the End of their being call’d to-
 ‘ gether ; and to be such, and do such Things for
 ‘ the Interest of *Christ* and his Members, and for
 ‘ the Good of all the People, as they ought, and
 ‘ as he hath promised Governors should be, and
 ‘ do, in Subserviency to those glorious Ends : That
 ‘ so, at last, through the Goodness and Mercy of
 ‘ our God, these three Nations, after so great and
 ‘ various Revolutions, may be established together
 ‘ upon the sure Foundations of Truth, Righteous-
 ‘ ness, and Peace.

‘ It is therefore declared by his Highness the Lord
 ‘ Protector, and the Parliament of the Common-
 ‘ wealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, That,
 ‘ for the Ends and Purposes aforesaid, they appoint
 ‘ *Wednesday*, the 11th of *October* next, for a Day of
 ‘ solemn Humiliation and seeking the Face of God,
 ‘ thro’ the Mediation of *Christ*, in all Places with-
 ‘ in *England* and *Scotland* ; and *Wednesday*, the first
 ‘ Day of *November* next, in all Places in *Ireland*.
 ‘ And do therefore hereby incite and encourage all
 ‘ such whose Hearts God shall persuade and make
 ‘ sensible of their Duty, and of the Common-
 ‘ wealth’s present Condition, that the respective
 ‘ Days aforesaid be set apart by them for the Pur-
 ‘ poses aforesaid : Whereof the Ministers and
 ‘ Preachers of the respective Parishes and Congre-
 ‘ gations are to take Notice.

HENRY SCOBELL,
Clerk of the Parliament.

The Clerk of the Parliament having, by Order of the House, brought in the original Record of the Government of the Commonwealth, as it had been drawn up by the Protector and his Council, it was read, and the Debate upon it ordered to begin on the 19th. Accordingly the first Article of it was read in a Committee of the whole House, and debated all that Day; and it was agreed to begin with it again the next Morning; and thus the Debate continued on each particular Article, *de Die in Diem*, all the rest of this Month, without coming to any Resolution about it.

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The House resume the Debate on the Government.

It is Pity the Speeches made on this Occasion were not preserved at Length, that the present Age might have seen what Sort of Courtiers and Anti-Courtiers were then existing. But nothing of this Nature being now extant, what small Remains there are can only be pick'd out of the Journalists and other Contemporary Writers of these Times.

During the Time of this grand Debate on these important Articles, few other Things of Moment were done, except that a Bill had been brought in for appointing a Recognition of the present Government, to be subscribed by Members of Parliament; which, on the 25th, was read a second Time, and committed to a very large Number of the Members to report their Opinion of it to the House. But we hear no more of it.

October. This Month began, as the last ended, with the Debate on the Government, which was carried on from Day to Day, and nothing else done but regulating the Returns of some Elections; ordering a Bill for the Reduction of the Forces by Land and Sea; and referring the late Ordinance, for regulating and limiting the Jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery, and the Matters therein, to a Committee: Nay, so urgent was the House to bring this grand Affair of Government to a Conclusion, that, on the 4th, a Question being put that the Speaker do take the Chair two Days every

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October.

Oct. 10. The House resolved to take into their Consideration the Ordinances made by the Lord Protector and his Council, and referred it to a Committee to review them all, together with such Laws, Ordinances, and Acts as had been made by the late Parliament, from the 3d of *July*, 1653, to the 10th of *December* following.

The House still continued their Debate upon the Government. Mr. *Whitlocke* writes, 'That on the 19th the Dispute was, Whether the Government in a Single Person, as Protector of the Commonwealth, should be Elective or Hereditary;' which is confirmed by the Letters of the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors, about this Time^m, to their respective Courts: These Authorities inform us, That, in this Debate, Major-General *Lambert*, in a long Speech, endeavoured to persuade the Parliament that it was necessary to make the Office of Protector Hereditary; but that, upon the Question being put, it passed in the Negative by 200 against 60; which greatly surprized the Public and the Family of the Lord Protector, who thought himself sure, the Day before, of perpetuating this Dignity to his own Issue.—But we find no Mention of any such Debate or Division in the *Journals*.

Oct. 24. A Letter from the Lord Protector, touching the Officers he had named, for their Approbation, being read in the House, they voted, That the Parliament did approve of *Charles Fleetwood*, Esq; to be Deputy of *Ireland*; *Bulstrode Whitlocke*, Esq; Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Serjeant at Law, and *John Lisle*, Esq; to be Lords Commissioners for the Great Seal, and Commissioners of the Treasury; *Henry Rolle*, Esq; to be Lord

Chief

^m A Letter from M. de *Bordeaux* to Count *Brienne*, and from *Beverning* and *Meaport* to the *States General*.

Thorn., Vol. II. p. 681, 4, 5.

Chief Justice of the Upper Bench; *Oliver St. John*, Esq; Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; also *Edward Montague* and *William Sydenham*, Esq^{rs}. to be Commissioners of the Treasury.

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November.

November. The House went on still with their Debates on Government, no other Business of any Consequence interfering, nor any Report made till the 7th of this Month; when Mr. *Hoskins* delivered in the following Resolutions:

At the Committee of the whole House upon the Government, September 19, 1654,

‘*Resolved*, That the Supreme Legislative Authority of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, is and doth reside in One Person and the People assembled in Parliament; with this Declaration, That this Vote shall not be prejudicial to any further Debate or Resolution, touching the Remainder of the forty-two Articles.’

‘*Resolved*, That the Style of such Person shall be Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*.

September 20, 1654.

‘*Resolved*, That *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General of the Forces of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, is and shall be Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, for his Life.

‘*Resolved*, That a Parliament shall be summoned once in every third Year, to be accounted from the Dissolution of the next preceding Parliament.’

We do not find that these Resolutions were confirm’d by the House this Day: They were interrupted by one Col. *Shapcot*, a Member, who complained of, and delivered into the House, a printed Pamphlet, intitled, *The Speech of Col. Shapcot, a Knight of Devonshire*. On the reading of which the House voted it to be treacherous, false, scandalous, and seditious; and afterwards chang’d the

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Word *treacherous* into *treasonable*. They ordered the Committee for Printing to inquire after the Authors, Printers, and Publishers of this Pamphlet with great Strictness, and report what they found to the House.

Nov. 10. Now comes on a strong Contest, between the Protector's Party and the Republicans, on the first of the foregoing Resolutions and the saving Clause at the End of it; for, this Day, the Question being put, That the Supreme Legislative Authority of this Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, is and shall reside in one Single Person and the People assembled in Parliament; and that these Words be added to that Question, 'That all Bills agreed unto by the Parliament shall be presented to the Lord Protector for his Consent: And, in case he shall not give his Consent thereunto within twenty Days after they shall be presented to him, or give Satisfaction to the Parliament within the Time limited, then such Bills shall pass into and become Laws, although he shall not consent thereunto. Provided that such Bills contain nothing in them contrary to such Matters wherein the Parliament shall think fit to give a Negative to the Lord Protector,' it was carried in the Affirmative, by 109 against 85; Sir *Charles Wolseley* and Lord *Broughill* being Tellers for the latter; Sir *Richard Onslow* and Col. *Birch* for the former; but the House calling to have the Vote read again, another Debate arose, and the Question being put Whether Candles should be brought in? the House divided into Yeas 85, Noes 76; and Candles were brought in accordingly.

The Vote being now read again, Exceptions were taken to some Words in it, and debated; till at last it was resolved, That instead of these Words in the same Vote, *the Lord Protector*, the Words, *the said Single Person*, should be inserted: And the Question being put, That instead of these Words, *the Parliament shall think fit to give a*

Negative to the Lord Protector, these Words be inserted, *whercin the Single Person and a Parliament shall declare a Negative to be in the said Single Person*: But it growing very late, the Debate was adjourned to next Morning; when both these Alterations were agreed to without any Division; and then the whole Vote stood thus:

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‘*Resolved*, That the Supreme Legislative Authority of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, is and shall reside in One Person and the People assembled in Parliament; and that all Bills agreed unto by the Parliament, shall be presented to the said Single Person for his Consent: And in case he shall not give his Consent thereunto within twenty Days after they shall be presented to him, or give Satisfaction to the Parliament within the Time limited, that then such Bills shall pass into and become Laws, altho’ he shall not consent thereunto. Provided such Bills contain nothing in them contrary to such Matters wherein the Single Person and a Parliament shall declare a Negative to be in the said Single Person.’

The House went on still in their Debates on this Affair; and, on the 14th, came to another Resolution, ‘That if any Bill be tendered, at any Time hereafter, to alter the Foundation and Constitution of the Government of this Commonwealth, from a Single Person and a Parliament, that to such Bills the Single Person shall have a Negative.’

The next Day they voted again, ‘That if any Bills shall be tendered, at any Time hereafter, for the Continuance of any Parliament for any longer Time than for six Months after the first Meeting, that such Bills shall not become Laws, without the Consent of the Single Person.’

However, on the 16th, and some Days following, *Cromwell’s* Party carried their Point in the House, and had the Words *Single Person* changed for *Protector, &c.* by the following Resolutions:

1. ‘That

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1. 'That the Style of such Single Person shall be Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

2. 'That *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General of the Forces of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, is and shall be Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, for his Life: And that, by Consent of Parliament, if then sitting, and not otherwise, he shall dispose of and employ the Forces of this Commonwealth, by Sea and Land, for the Peace and Good of the same.

3. 'That the Lord Protector for the Time being shall be assisted by a Council.

4. 'That such of the standing Forces of this Commonwealth, as shall be agreed to be continued upon the Charge of the Commonwealth, in the Interval of Parliament, shall be ordered and disposed of for the Ends aforesaid, in such Intervals, by the present Lord Protector during his Life, by and with the Advice and Consent of the said Council, and not otherwise. And,

5. 'That after his Death, in the Interval of Parliament, the Forces shall be ordered by the said Council, for the same Ends, untill a Parliament be assembled, who is then to dispose of the said Forces as they shall think fit.'

Thus did the House go drudging on, from Day to Day, in settling their new Form of Government; the Protector's Party carrying a Question one Time; the Republicans another; and so on, *vice versa*. The *Journals* are very intricate and dark in describing these various Proceedings.—What Plan of Government was attempted to be established will best appear from the following Resolutions, agreed to in each Day's Debate.

Nov. 23. *Resolved*, 'That the Laws of this Commonwealth shall not be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, nor any new Law made, nor any Tax, Charge, or Imposition laid upon the People,

People, but by common Consent of the People assembled in Parliament.'

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Nov. 24. After the Chairman had reported the Form of an Oath to be administered to the Lord Protector, and another for his Council, as agreed on by the Committee of the whole House, it was resolved,

1. 'That a Parliament be summoned to meet and sit at *Westminster*, the third *Monday* of *October*, 1656; also upon the third *Monday* in *October*, 1659; and likewise on the third *Monday* in *October* every third Year successively.

2. 'That neither this present Parliament, nor the Parliament which shall be summoned to meet on the third *Monday* of *October*, 1656; nor the Parliament that shall be summoned to meet on the third *Monday* of *October*, 1659; nor any succeeding Triennial Parliament shall, during the Time of six Months from the Day of their first Meeting, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own Consent; nor have Power to continue to sit above six Months, without the Lord Protector's Consent, to be by Act of Parliament; in which Act there shall be a limited Time for their sitting, not exceeding three Months.

3. 'That the Lord Protector, with the Advice of the major Part of the Council, shall, at any other Time than is before expressed, when the Necessities of the State shall require it, summon Parliaments in Manner hereby expressed; which shall not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own Consent, during the first three Months of their sitting; nor shall have Power to continue to sit beyond that Time, without the Consent of the Lord Protector, to be by Act of Parliament; in which Act there shall be a limited Time for their sitting, not exceeding one Month: Provided, That such Parliament shall end and be determined before the summoning such Parliaments as are before hereby appointed.

4. 'That

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4. ' That the Summons to Parliament shall be by Writ, under the Great Seal of *England*, directed to the Sheriffs and other Officers, according to Law, of the several and respective Counties and Places, which the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal shall seal, issue, and send abroad, by Warrant from the Lord Protector, in Manner and Form following :

OLIVER, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

To the Sheriff of the County of Greeting.

W Hereas in the Parliament held at Westminster, the third Day of September, 1654, it is, amongst other Things, enacted, That Parliaments shall be duly held, in such Manner as is therein expressed: Now, to the end that a Parliament be held at the City of Westminster, the Day of next coming, there for Us to consult with the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses of the said Commonwealth, on the weighty and urgent Affairs concerning Us, the State, and Defence of the said Commonwealth, and the Maintenance of the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion in the Purity thereof: We do command you, firmly enjoining, that, Proclamation being made of the Day and Place aforesaid, in every Market-Town within your County, you cause, according to the Form of the said Statute, to be freely and indifferently chosen by them who shall be present at such Election, of the most fit and discreet Persons, to serve as Knights, with their Swords girt, for the County of ; and for the City of , Citizens of the more discreet and sufficient; and for the Borough of , Burgeesses of the more discreet and sufficient: And the Names of the same Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses so to be chosen, whether present or absent, you cause to be certified in certain Indentures thereupon to be made between you and them, who shall be present at such

such Choice: And that you cause them to come at the Day and Place aforesaid, so that the said Knights severally may have full and sufficient Power for themselves and the People of that County, and the said Citizens and Burgeses, severally, for themselves and the People of the Cities and Boroughs aforesaid, to do and consent unto those Things which, then and there, by Common Council of the said Commonwealth in Parliament, by God's Blessing, shall be ordained upon the weighty Affairs aforesaid; so that for Defect of such Power, or by reason of improvident Choice of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses aforesaid, the said Affairs may not be left undone in anywise.

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And We will that you be not chosen to serve as a Knight for your said County: And that the said Choice in your full County, distinctly and openly so to be made forthwith, you certify to Us in Our Chancery, under your Seals, and the Seals of them which shall be present at such Choice, sending to Us the other Part of the said Indentures annex'd, together with this Writ: And, in your Proceedings and Execution thereof, We will that you pursue and observe the several Directions limited and appointed by the said Act of Parliament.

Witness Ourself, &c.

The same Day it was resolved, i. ' That in case the Lord Protector shall not, before the first of July, 1656, give Warrant for issuing Writs of Summons for a Parliament to meet the third Monday in October, 1656; and before the first of July, 1659, give Warrant for issuing Writs of Summons for a Parliament to meet on the third Monday in October, 1659; and before the first of July in every third Year, after that Time, give Warrant for issuing Writs of Summons for a Parliament to meet on the third Monday in October, in every third Year successively: That then the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal for the Time being, shall, without any War-

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Warrant or Direction, within seven Days after the respective Times aforesaid, seal, issue, and send abroad Writs of Summons to the several and respective Sheriffs of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, for summoning a Parliament to meet at *Westminster* on the several Days above-recited.

2. ' That the said Sheriffs, and other Officers respectively, shall, within ten Days after the Receipt of such Writs as aforesaid, cause the same to be proclaim'd and published in every Market-Town within his County, upon the Market-Days thereof, between twelve and three of the Clock; and shall then also publish and declare the certain Day of the Week and Month, and the certain Place for electing of Members to serve in Parliament for the Body of the said County, according to the Tenor of the said Writ: Which Election shall be within six Weeks after the Date of the said Writ; but not untill fourteen Days after all the Proclamations made, as aforesaid: For which Purpose the said Sheriff shall appoint some convenient Day, and the usual or some other convenient and indifferent Place, for the Electors of each County and Place to meet in; and shall proceed to Election betwixt the Hours of Eight and Eleven before Noon; and shall send Precepts for Elections to be made in every City, Town, Borough, or Place, within their County and Place, where Elections are to be made, to the Mayor, Sheriff, or other Head Officer of such City, Town, Borough, or Place, within six Days after the Receipt of such Writ: Which the said Mayor, Sheriffs, and other Officers respectively, within eight Days after Receipt of the said Precept, are to make Publication of, and of the certain Day for such Elections, to be made in the said City, Town, or Place aforesaid; and to cause Elections to be made accordingly, within eight Days after Proclamations of the said Precept made as aforesaid.

3. ' That, at the Day and Place of Elections, the Sheriff of each County, and the said Mayors, Sheriffs,

Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other Head Officers within their Cities, Towns, Boroughs, and Places respectively, shall take View of the said Elections; and shall make Return into the Chancery, within twenty Days after the said Elections, of the Persons elected by the greater Number of Electors, under the Hands and Seals of twelve or more of the said Electors, on the Behalf of himself, on the one Part; and on the Behalf of the Electors, on the other Part; wherein shall be contained, that the Persons elected shall not have Power to alter the Government from one Single Person and a Parliament.

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Nov. 25. Resolved, ‘That the Sheriff who shall, wittingly or willingly, make any false Return, or neglect his Duty in Execution of the Premises, shall incur the Penalty of 200*l.* of lawful *English* Money: And that every Mayor, Sheriff, Bailiff, or other Head Officer of any City, Town, Borough, or Place aforesaid, who shall, wittingly or willingly, make any false Return, or neglect his Duty in the Execution of the Premises, shall incur the Penalty of 100*l.* of like lawful *English* Money; the one Moiety of all and every the Penalties aforesaid to go to the Lord Protector, and the other Moiety to such Party grieved as shall sue for the same in any of the Courts of Record at *Westminster*; which Suit shall not be commenced untill the Parliament hath adjudged the same to be such an Offence as aforesaid.

Nov. 27. Resolved, 1. ‘That the Persons who shall be elected to serve in Parliament shall be such, and none other than such, as are Persons of known Integrity, fearing God, and of good Conversation, and being of the Age of twenty-one Years; and not such as are disabled by the Act of the 17th of King *Charles*, intitled, *An Act for disabling all Persons in Holy Orders to exercise any temporal Jurisdiction or Authority*; nor such as are public Mi-

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nisters, or public Preachers of the Gospel^a; nor such as are guilty of any of the Offences mentioned in an Act of Parliament, bearing Date *August 9, 1650*, intituled, *An Act against several atheistical, blasphemous, and execrable Opinions, derogatory to the Honour of God, and destructive to human Society*; no common Scoffer nor Reviler of Religion, or of any Person for professing thereof; no Person that hath married, or shall marry, a Wife of the Popish Religion; or hath trained, or shall train up, his Children, or any other Children under his Tutition, in the Popish Religion; or that shall permit such Children to be trained up in the said Religion; or hath given, or shall give, his Consent that his Son or Daughter shall marry any of that Religion; no Person that shall deny the Scriptures to be the Word of God, or the Sacraments, Prayer, Magistracy, and Ministry to be the Ordinances of God; no common Profaner of the Lord's Day, nor profane Swearer or Curser; no Drunkard, nor Haunter of Taverns, Ale-Houses, or Brothel-Houses; none that shall hereafter drink Healths, or be guilty of Adultery, Fornication, or Extortion, Perjury, Forgery, or Bribery.

2. 'That all and every Person and Persons, who do or shall profess the Popish Religion, in *Ireland*, or who have advised, assisted, or abetted in the Rebellion of *Ireland*, before the first Day of *September, 1643*, shall, during their Lives, be disabled, and be incapable to be elected, or to give any Vote in the Election of any Member to serve in any Parliament: And likewise that all and every Person and Persons who have advised, voluntarily assisted or abetted in the Rebellion of *Ireland*, since the first Day of *September, 1643*, or have at any Time advised, voluntarily assisted or abetted the War in *England* or *Scotland* against the Parliament, shall, during their Lives, be disabled and

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^a In the List of this Parliament it appears, That the University of *Oxford* elected *John Owen*, D. D. their Vice-Chancellor, for their Representative in Parliament, which probably occasion'd this Clause.

be incapable to be elected, or to give any Vote in the Election of any Member to serve in Parliament; provided that this extend not to disable or make incapable such Persons constantly professing the Protestant Religion, who, before the 25th of *December*, 1649, did submit, and have ever since continued faithful, to the Parliament, and given signal Testimony of their good Affection thereunto.

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3. ' That every Person, not within the aforesaid Exceptions, being resident for three Months or more before the Time of Election of Members to serve in Parliament, in such County where Election is to be made, having an Estate in Freehold to the yearly Value of 40 s. within any County, Riding, Limit, or Place; or having an Estate, Real or Personal, to the full and clear Value of 200 l. or more, to be declared upon Oath by such Person, if required, (which said Oath the Sheriffs, or their Deputies are hereby impowered to give) shall be capable to give his Vote for the Election of Members for such County, Riding, Limit, or Place where such Land or Estate doth lye. Provided this extend not to alter any antient Customs, Charters, or Privileges of any Cities, Boroughs, Towns, or Corporations, who have thereby a Right to elect Members to Parliament; but the same to continue as formerly, any Thing in these Presents to the contrary notwithstanding: And provided that such of the Persons aforesaid, having an Estate, Real or Personal, to the clear Value of 200 l. that shall give his Vote for the Election of any Member to serve in Parliament for any City, Borough, or Town Corporate, shall be excluded from giving his Vote for Election of any Knight for that County, in the same Parliament, unless he have an Estate of Freehold in the County to the yearly Value of 40 s. lying and being without the Limits of such City, Borough, or Town Corporate.

4. ' That all Votes and Elections given or made contrary, or not according to, these Qualifications, shall be null and void: And if any Person, who is,

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by these Qualifications, made incapable, shall give his Vote for Election of Members to serve in Parliament, he shall forfeit one full Year's Value of his Real Estate, and one full third Part of his Personal Estate; one Moiety thereof to the Lord Protector, and the other Moiety to him who shall sue for the same in any of the Courts of Record at *Westminster*, by Action of Debt or Information; wherein shall be no Wager of Law, Essoign, or Protection allowed.

5. 'That the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal for the Time being shall forthwith be sworn truly and faithfully to issue forth Writs of Summons to Parliament, at the Times and in the Manner before express'd: And such Chancellor, Keepers or Commissioners of the Great Seal as shall hereafter be, shall be sworn before they enter into their Offices, truly and faithfully to issue forth Writs of Summons to Parliament, at the Times and in the Manner as before express'd: And in case of Neglect or Failure to issue Writs of Summons accordingly, they shall, for every such Offence, be guilty of High Treason, and suffer the Pains and Penalties thereof.'

Nov. 30. Resolved, 1. 'That the Protector dying in the Intervals of Parliament, the Council shall immediately assemble in some convenient Place; and, having given Notice to all their Number, or to as many of them as conveniently they may, of the Cause and Time of their assembling, shall, being thirteen at least present, proceed to the Election; and eleven of them, or more, shall agree who shall be the succeeding Protector; and, before they depart, shall declare such Person so agreed upon to succeed in the Government. The Manner of Election, in all other Things, to be as the Council shall think fit.

2. 'That the Person so to be elected Protector, shall be such, and no other than such, as shall, by his good Conversation among the People of these Nations, manifest himself to be a Man of Ability,
Truth,

Truth, and Courage, fearing God and hating Covetousness. Provided that he shall not be under the Age of twenty-five Years, no Alien or Papist, nor any whose Wife is a Papist; nor any of the Children of the late King *Charles*, nor such as shall have, or may pretend to have, Title of Inheritance unto the Supreme Government of these Nations of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, or any of them, or any other Title than by Election as aforesaid.

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December. The Debate, on the same Subject, began this Month as usual, and continued three Days in every Week, Forenoon, and After, without any Intermission. On the second the House resolved upon the Form of an Oath to be administered to the Council of the Lord Protector, which was in these Words :

I Do, in the Presence, and by the Name, of Almighty God, promise and swear that I will be true and faithful in the Performance of the Trust committed unto me as one of the Council; and that I will not reveal or disclose any Thing, in whole or in part, directly or indirectly, that shall be debated or resolved upon by the Council, wherein Secrecy shall be enjoined by the said Council, without the Direction of the Lord Protector or the Parliament, or Leave of the Council: And that in the Election of every successive Lord Protector, I will proceed therein faithfully and impartially, according to the best of my Understanding and Knowledge; and do nothing therein for any Promise, Fear, Favour, or Reward.

I will, to the best of my Knowledge and Understanding, give faithful Advice to the Lord Protector, for the Time being, in order to the good Government, Peace, and Welfare of these Nations: And I will not advise, act, or consent unto any Thing to disadvantage the Liberty, Property, or Interest of the People contrary to the Laws of the Land, to the best of my Understanding and Knowledge: And I will faithfully pursue the Instructions and Directions

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which are or shall be given to the Council by the Parliament.

Afterwards the Question being put, That the Persons who shall be of the Council shall be such as shall be nominated by the Lord Protector, and approved by the Parliament; and a Debate arising Whether these Words *nominated by the Lord Protector* should be Part of the Question, it was carried in the Affirmative by 100 against 68.

It was also resolved, 'That the Number of Persons to be of this Council, shall not exceed twenty-one; eleven of whom to be a Council, and not under; and that no Person shall continue to be of the Council longer than 40 Days after the Meeting of each succeeding Parliament, without a new Approbation by the Parliament.'

Dec. 6. The House came to the following Resolutions, 1. 'That the Exercise of the chief Magistracy over this Commonwealth, and the People thereof, shall be in the Lord Protector, assisted with a Council; the Exercise of which Power shall be according to the Laws, and according to such Limitations as are or shall be agreed upon in Parliament.

2. 'That all Writs, Process, Commissions, Patents, Grants, and other Things, which heretofore did, or might lawfully have passed or issued in the Name or Style of *The Keepers of the Liberty of England, by Authority of Parliament*, shall pass and issue in the Name of *The Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging*.

3. 'That such Titles of Honour as shall be hereafter conferred in this Commonwealth, shall be derived from the Lord Protector; and that no Title of Honour hereafter to be conferred by the said Lord Protector, shall be hereditary without Consent of Parliament.

4. 'That it shall not be in the Power of the said

said Lord Protector to pardon any Person lawfully convicted of Murder or Treason.

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5. ' That the Lord Protector, with the Consent of the Council, shall have Power of pardon, except in the Case of Murder and Treason.

6. ' That the Committee to whom the Consideration of the late Ordinances made by the Lord Protector and the Council are referred, do take into Consideration the Ordinance touching Treasons, and the several former Acts touching the same, and prepare a Bill accordingly.

7. ' That the said Lord Protector, by the Advice and Consent of the major Part of his Council, shall direct in all Things concerning the keeping a good Correspondence with foreign Kings, Princes, and States.

8. ' That the Benefit of all Forfeitures and Confiscations not already granted, or otherwise lawfully vested in any other Person, Bodies Politic or Corporate, shall belong to the Lord Protector, according to the Trust reposed in him by Law, and as shall be agreed upon by Parliament.

9. ' That the Power of making War is only in the Lord Protector and the Parliament.

10. ' That, sitting the Parliament, no Peace shall be concluded but by Consent of Parliament; and, in the Intervals of Parliament, the Power of making Peace shall be in the Lord Protector and the Council, with such Reservations and Limitations as the Parliament shall approve.

11. ' That the Number of Persons to be chosen to sit and serve in Parliament for *England* and *Wales* shall be 400, and for *Scotland* and *Ireland*, 30 each.

12. ' That the Office of the Lord Protector over these Nations shall be Elective and not Hereditary.

13. ' That the Chancellor, Keeper or Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Treasurer or Commissioners for the Treasury, Lord High-Admiral or Commissioners of the Admiralty, the Chief Governors of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, the Chief Justices and the

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the rest of the Judges of both Benches, Chief Baron, and the rest of the Barons of the Exchequer, shall be chosen by the Approbation of Parliament; and, in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Approbation of the major Part of the Council, to be afterwards approved by the Parliament.'

The same Vote pass'd as to the Lord-Chancellor, Keeper or Commissioners of the Great Seal, and the Judges, both of *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

Dec. 7. The House pass'd two Resolutions relating to Church Government, *viz.* 1. 'That the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and no other, shall be asserted and maintained as the public Profession of these Nations.

2. 'That, untill some better Provision be made by the Parliament, for the Encouragement and Maintenance of able, godly, and painful Ministers, and public Preachers of the Gospel, for instructing the People, and for Discovery and Confutation of Error, Heresy, and whatsoever is contrary to sound Doctrine, the present public Maintenance shall not be taken away nor impeached.'

Dec. 8. It was further *resolved*, 'That in case any Bill shall be tendered to the Lord Protector by the Parliament, to compel any Person to the public Profession of Religion, as held forth in these Nations, by any Penalty; to such Bill the Lord Protector shall have a Negative. Provided that such Bills, as shall be hereafter agreed upon by the Parliament, requiring from such Ministers and Preachers of the Gospel as shall receive the public Maintenance for instructing the People, a Submission and Conformity to the public Profession aforesaid, or enjoining Attendance to the preaching of the Word, and other religious Duties on the Lord's Day, in some public Church or Chapel, or at some other Congregational and Christian Meeting, shall pass into and become Laws with-

in twenty Days after the Presentment thereof to the Lord Protector, although he shall not give his Consent thereunto.' 521 1654.

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December.

The House spent some Days after this in settling other Matters in relation to Church-Government, in the Debates whereupon there were several Divisions; one of which was, Whether Heresies should be called *damnable Heresies*; and another, Whether there should be an Enumeration of Heresies after the Word *damnable*; which were both carried in the Affirmative. All which Debates produced the following Resolution, viz.

‘ That, without the Consent of the Lord Protector and Parliament, no Law be made for the restraining of such tender Consciences as shall differ in Doctrine, Worship, or Discipline, from the public Profession aforesaid; and shall not abuse such Liberty to the Civil Injury of others, or the Disturbance of the Public Peace: Provided, That such Bills as shall be agreed upon by the Parliament, for the restraining of Atheism, Blasphemy, damnable Heresies to be particularly enumerated by this Parliament, Popery, Prelacy, Licentiousness, and Profaneness; or such as shall preach, print, or avowedly maintain any Thing contrary to the Fundamental Principles of Doctrine held forth in the public Profession, which shall be agreed upon by the Lord Protector and the Parliament; or shall do any overt or public Act, to the Disturbance thereof; shall pass into and become Laws within twenty Days after their Presentation to the Lord Protector, altho’ he shall not give his Consent thereunto.’

The same Day it was resolved, ‘ That the Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, made for the Sale or other Disposition of the Lands, Rents, and Hereditaments of the late King, Queen, and Prince; of Archbishops and Bishops, Deans and Chapters, the Lands of Delinquents, and Forest Lands, or of any other Lands, Tenements, Rents, or Hereditaments

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belonging to the Commonwealth, shall no way be impeached, or made invalid; but shall remain good and firm: And that the Security given by Act and Ordinance of Parliament, for any Sum of Money by any of the said Lands, the Excise, or by any other public Revenue; and also the Securities given by the public Faith of the Nation, and the Engagement of the public Faith for Satisfaction of Debts and Damages, shall remain firm and good, and not be made void or invalid upon any Pretence whatsoever: Provided, That the Articles given to, or made with, the Enemy, and afterwards confirmed by Parliament, shall be perform'd and made good to the Persons concerned therein: And that all Appeals or Petitions, made or exhibited since the 16th of July, 1651, and before the first of *December* Instant, for Relief concerning Bills for Sale of Delinquents Estates, may be heard and determined this Parliament.'

The next Thing the House went upon was to frame an Oath to be taken by the present Lord Protector, and every succeeding one; which being brought in and read, and some Additions made to it, was, at last, agreed upon as follows:

I Do in the Presence, and by the Name, of Almighty God, promise and swear, That, to the uttermost of my Power, I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion, in the Purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; and encourage the Profession and Professors of the same: And that I will not violate, nor infringe, any of the Matters and Things contained in the ; and will in all Things, to the best of my Understanding, govern according to the Laws, Statutes, Rights, Customs, and Liberties of the Parliament and People of these Nations; and will seek their Peace and Welfare according to those Laws, Customs, and Liberties; and cause Justice and Law to be equally and duly administred.

Dec.

Dec. 18. It was resolved, ' That a constant yearly Revenue of 200,000 *l.* be settled and established upon the now Lord Protector, and the succeeding Lord Protectors for the Time being respectively, for defraying the necessary Charges for Administration of Justice, and other Expences of the Government; and for the Support of his and their State and Dignity, as may be for the Honour of this Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*: And that the said 200,000 *l. per Annum* be constantly paid out of the public Receipt of the Exchequer, by Warrant of the Lord Protector and the Council; and shall not be taken away, nor diminished, without the Consent of the Lord Protector and Parliament.'

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Dec. 19. Resolved, ' That *Whitehall, St. James's House and Park, the Mews, Somerset-House, Greenwich-House and Park, Hampton-Court, and the Honour and Manor of Hampton-Court, with the Parks and Grounds now thereunto belonging; Windsor-Castle, the little Park there, and other the Lands thereunto now belonging; and the House called the Manor, near the City of York, with their Appurtenances, now unsold or undisposed of, be vested in the present Lord Protector and the succeeding Lord Protectors, for the Maintenance of his and their State and Dignity, besides the 200,000 *l.* aforesaid; and shall not be alienated but by Consent of Parliament.'*

Dec. 20. Resolved, 1. ' That no Writs of Summons to any Parliament, nor any other Writs, Process, Patents, Commissions, nor any Proceedings in Law or Justice, shall be discontinued, or made void, by the Death of any Lord Protector.

2. ' That all Writs, Process, Patents, Commissions, and Proceedings in Law or Justice, issuing forth or being after any succeeding Lord Protector shall be elected and sworn, shall issue forth and be in the Name of such Lord Protector, and are hereby declared to be of full Force in Law, to all
Intent

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Intents and Purposes : And that all former Writs, Process, Patents, Commissions, Offices, and Officers, shall continue and be in as full Force as they should have been if the said former Protector had been still living.

3. 'That after the Death of any Lord Protector, and untill the next Lord Protector shall be elected and sworn, the Council shall take Care of the Government, and administer in all Things as fully as the Lord Protector, or the Lord Protector and Council are enabled to do.'

January. These are all the Resolutions we can hitherto pick out of the *Journals*, capable of any Connection; tho' there are Abundance of others, on which were many Divisions, ordered to be put into a large Bill, that had been canvassed several Days; the last of which Day's Debates is said to be on the 60th Chapter of it. There are also three other Resolutions entered in the *Journals* of this Month, which were to be Part of the Bill: And as the whole of this new Frame of Government is now, perhaps, no where to be met with, these, with the foregoing Fragments of it, may serve to give the Reader some Idea thereof, *viz.*

Jan. 13. Resolved, 'That no Pardon extend to exempt any Counsellor of State, Judge, Officer, or other Minister of State, from being question'd or sentenced in Parliament for Male-administration or Corruption in his Office or Employment, or from any Sentence or Judgment thereupon, or Execution thereof; nor shall extend to pardon any Person for Breach of Privilege of Parliament, or any other Sentence or Judgment in Parliament, or any Execution thereupon.'

Jan. 16. Resolved, 'That the Sum of 400,000*l.* arising by the Customs and other public Receipts in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, shall be yearly paid out of the public Receipts of the Exchequer, by Warrant of the Lord Protector and the Council, for and towards the Maintenance of a convenient

Num-

Number of Ships for guarding of the Seas, and the Security and Encouragement of Trade, and the Maintenance of such Garrisons as shall be necessary for the Defence of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; which Revenue shall continue, and not be altered without Consent of the Lord Protector and the Parliament: And that the yearly Sum of 700,000 *l.* more arising by Excise, or other public Receipts in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, shall be provided by Parliament, and paid out of the Exchequer by Warrant of the Lord Protector and the Council, for the Maintenance and full Discharge of such Field-Forces as shall be thought needful to be kept up for the Defence of this Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; and for the Payment and full Discharge of such Forces in Garrisons and Naval Charges, and all incident Charges belonging to every of them, as shall not be satisfied and paid out of the 400,000 *l.* aforesaid; which said 700,000 *l.* shall continue and be paid untill the 25th of *December*, 1659, unless the Lord Protector and the Parliament shall agree to lessen the said Sum before that Time; and that this be Part of the Government.'

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Jan. 17. Resolved, ' That the Bill intituled An Act declaring and settling the Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, be ingross'd, in order to its Presentment to the Lord Protector, for his Consideration and Consent: And that if the Lord Protector and the Parliament shall not agree thereunto, and to every Article thereof, then this Bill shall be void, and of none Effect.'

The House went on every Day, after the last Date, debating still on the Government; and the Bill for it being read a second Time, more Additions and Provisoos were offered to it; which, on several Divisions, (no less than seven happening in
two

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The Parliament dissolved, without passing one single Act.

two Days Time) were rejected. And they might have gone on, debating and dividing, long enough, had not the Protector come down to *Westminster* on the 22d of this Month; when, sending for the Speaker and the whole House to attend him in the *Painted-Chamber*, he was pleased, says the *Journal*, to dissolve this Parliament.

Although we have almost entirely confined our Account of the Proceedings of this Parliament to the grand Affair of Government, and have scarce hinted that there was any other Business begun there; yet some other Bills were ordered to be brought in, which were read once or twice, but all rendered abortive by the sudden Dissolution: Insomuch that *Scobell's Collections* afford not one single Act passed by this Parliament. The most material of those under Consideration of the House, were,

Account of Bills,
&c. then depending
before them.

A Bill against the Election and Swearing of Mayors, &c. on the Lord's Day.—A Bill against drinking of Healths, and for inflicting the like Degrees of Penalties on Drunkards as were already imposed on swearers; also for enabling Justices of Peace to levy the Penalties or execute the Punishments in that Behalf, in a more speedy Way than by former Acts; and for supplying the Defects in those Laws.—A Bill for compelling Lay-Impropriators, and Colleges possessed of Impropriations, to allow a Competency of Maintenance to the respective Incumbents, where there was not a sufficient one already made by Law: Also to enable such Cities, Corporations, and Market-Towns, where there was not a competent Maintenance for their respective Ministers, to tax themselves for that End.—A Bill for uniting *Ireland* to the Kingdom of *England*, re-establishing Courts of Justice there, placing of Judges therein, and putting a Great Seal to be used in *Ireland*.—A Bill for laying an Assessment of 60,000 *l.* per Annum, for three Months, upon *England*; 20,000 *l.* upon *Ireland*, and 8000 *l.* upon *Scotland*.

for the Maintenance of the Army.—A Committee was appointed to consider how Encouragement might be given for Exportation of Corn, Butter and Cheese, and to review the several Statutes against Engrossers: And another for the Advancement of Trade; for taking away the Court of Wards, and Purveyance, in *England*, and for abolishing Tenures in *Ireland*.—The House had also ordered the several Knights of Shires to present the Name of one godly and able Minister of the Gospel for each County in *England*, to be approv'd of by the House, to offer their Advice concerning such Matters of Religion as should be proposed to them by the Parliament; also eight for *Ireland*, eight for *Scotland*, and one for each University.

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Before we take our Leave of this Parliament we shall mention an Affair of an extraordinary Nature which came before them, and seems to have been more properly the Business of a Convocation than a House of Commons. It was this:

Complaint having been made to the House of two Books lately printed, the one intitled, *The apostolical and true Opinion concerning the Holy Trinity revived and asserted*; or, *Twelve Arguments drawn out of Scripture, wherein the commonly-received Opinion, touching the Deity of the Holy Ghost, is clearly and fully refuted*: The other intitled, *A Twofold Catechism*: Both of them by *John Biddle*; a Committee was appointed, with Power to summon the Author before them, to restrain him, and to suppress his School; also to send for the Printers and Publishers thereof; to seize upon, and call in, the Books, and to prevent the further printing of them; to examine the Particulars contained therein; and to report the same, with their Opinion, to the House. All this having been done accordingly, it was resolved, 1. 'That the said Books do contain impious, horrid, blasphemous, and execrable Opinions against the Deity of *Christ* and of the Holy Ghost.

Their Proceedings against *John Biddle* for Blasphemy,

2. 'That

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2. 'That they be burnt by the Hand of the common Hangman, at the *Old Exchange* and in the *New Palace-Yard* at *Westminster*; and, in order thereto, that the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex* be required to search for, and seize, all printed Copies thereof.

3. 'That *John Biddle*, the Author, be sent for in Custody, as a Delinquent.'

Soon after *Biddle* being apprehended and brought to the Bar of the House, and the Books shewn to him, he acknowledged That he was the Author thereof; but denied that he was a Schoolmaster, or had any Congregation. Being ask'd, Who was the Printer? He said, That hitherto he had answered as a Christian, to give an Account of the Hope that was in him: That what the Law of *Christ* warranted him to answer, he would do; but, beyond That, he would not: And that the Law of *Christ* injoin'd him not to betray his Brethren. Then being ask'd, Whether the Law of *Christ* did injoin him to believe the Holy Ghost is not God? He said, The Law of *Christ* no where told him the Holy Ghost is God. Next it being demanded of him, Whether the Holy Ghost be God? He answered, He had examined the Scriptures, and did no where find, in the Old or New Testament, that the Holy Spirit is God: That he had own'd the Books; and that his Opinion was sufficiently declared in them. Being ask'd, Whether *Jesus Christ* be God from everlasting to everlasting? He replied, He had own'd the Books, and therein had declared his Judgment: But that he did not find in Scripture where *Jesus Christ* is called the Most High God, or God from everlasting to everlasting. Being further ask'd, Whether God be confined to a certain Place? He said, This Question did not relate to the Hope that is in a Christian; and therefore there was no Necessity lying on him to answer it. And being then ask'd, Whether God had a bodily Shape? He replied, He had answered sufficiently to That already.

The

The Result of this Examination was, That the House committed *Biddle* to the *Gatehouse*; to be there kept without Pen, Ink, or Paper, in order to a further Proceeding against him.

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Besides what may be collected of this Man's Opinions from his Answers to the Questions proposed to him by the House, the *Journals* give us some further Particulars thereof extracted from his Books, viz.

‘ That he asserted, The infinite God is confined to a certain Place, hath a bodily Shape, and a Right Hand and Left in a proper Sense; that there are Passions in God; that God the Father only, separate from the Son and Holy Ghost, is the first Cause of all Things that pertain to Salvation; that God the Holy Ghost is a created Spirit, and not God; that *Christ* is a made Lord; and neither the Son nor the Holy Spirit the Most High God; that *Christ* is the Second Cause of all Things pertaining to our Salvation, and that the Son is not equal with the Father; that *Christ* hath no other than a human Nature, and that he is not the Most High God, the same with the Father, but subordinate to him, and that he is not the Supreme and independent Monarch *Jehovah*; that the Holy Ghost is the only principal Minister of God and of *Christ*, singled out of the Number of other heavenly Ministers or Angels.

‘ That he affirmed Justification by Works, and that Works giving Vigour to Faith, make it able to justify; that Works give Right to eternal Life; and that true Saints may turn Apostates finally.

‘ That he denied the Omniscience and Immutability of God, and also that all the Three Persons are to be lov'd with our whole Heart. He likewise denied that *Jesus Christ* hath the Nature of God dwelling in him, he having only a Divine Lordship without a Divine Nature. He farther denied that *Christ* was a Priest whilst he was on Earth; or died to reconcile God to us; or that God doth justify any because of the full Price that *Christ* paid to him in their Stead; or that the Righteousness of *Christ* is imputed to Believers; or that the

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Wicked continue to live in Hell under the Sense of everlasting Torment, but that they are destroyed and cease to be.

The foregoing Extracts being read, a Committee was appointed to bring in a Bill for punishing the said *John Biddle*; but it never pass'd, for the Reasons before given: However, he was soon after committed to *Newgate*, and then banish'd to the Isle of *Scilly*, by Order of the Protector and his Council.

And against *Theror John*, a Quaker:

Besides this Complaint against *Biddle*, another was made to the House against one *Theror John*, whom Mr. *Whitlocke* styles a Quaker, a Sect which made its first Appearance about this Time; tho', according to the Account given of this Man in the *Journals*, his Principles seem not to quadrate altogether with those of the present Quakers: For by these Authorities it appears, That the House being informed that one *Theror John* had drawn his Sword in the Lobby, and struck at divers Persons; and ran with his Sword against the Door of the House; he was ordered to be brought to the Bar: Where, being ask'd by the Speaker, Why he came to the Parliament Door? He said, He had fired his Tent; and the People were ready to stone him, because he burnt the Bible; which he acknowledged he did, saying, It is Letters, not Life: And he drew his Sword, because a Man jostled him at the Door: And burnt the Bible, because the People say it is the Word of God; and it is not; it deceived him: And farther, that he burnt the Sword and Pistols, and Bible, because they are the Gods of *England*: And that he did it not of himself; but God bid him do it. Being ordered to withdraw, it was resolved, That he be committed to the *Gatehouse*, in order to a further Proceeding against him; and that a Charge be given to the Keeper to take Notice what Persons resorted to him. A Committee was also appointed to examine this Enthusiast, to present to the House their Opinion what was fit to be done in respect of these

these Offences; and to prepare a Bill upon the Debate relating to Quakers, with Power to receive Informations touching these Persons, the better to enable the Committee how to describe them in the intended Bill. But what farther became of this Affair does not appear.

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Thus much for the Laws intended to have been made by this Parliament, and the other Affairs in Agitation at the Time of their Dissolution.—— The contemporary *Memorialists* must next be consulted for clearing up some Matters not explained in the *Journals*.

All which are
render'd abortive
by their Dissolu-
tion.

Mr. *Whitlocke* writes, ‘That, in the Month of *January*, many Things were spoken in the Debates of the House, concerning the Government, which gave great Offence to *Cromwell* and his Council, and created a Suspicion that no Good was to be expected from them; for they were not inclinable to satisfy the Protector’s Desires. On the other Side, the Parliament made what Haste they could to finish their Debates and close the Business, for fear a Blow from his superior Hand should spoil all their Labours.’—And so it happened: For the same Author tells us, ‘That the Protector grew weary of his Parliament; and though he was advised by some not to dissolve them, urging the Inconveniencies that had arisen by the Dissolution of former Parliaments, which ever caused ill Blood; or, at least, not to dissolve them till after the Time was past that, by the Instrument of Government, they were to sit; yet he was not very solicitous about that, but was resolved to part with them at any Rate: Which some of his Council, who saw his Designs, were not backward to promote.’

Lieut. Gen. *Ludlow*, speaking of *Cromwell*, says, ‘The Representative sitting at *Westminster*; though garbled as he thought fit, proving not sufficiently inclined to serve his Designs, but rather, in Prudence, yielding to the Strength of the present Stream, in Hopes the People might, in Time,

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recover their Oars, and make use of them for the Public Good; he grew impatient till the five Months allowed for their sitting should be expired.

‘ And though they differed not in any material Point from that Form of Government which he himself had set up, unless it were in reserving the Nomination of his Successor to the Parliament; yet did the Omission of this one Thing so enrage him, that he resolved upon their Dissolution. They had prepared all Things to offer to him, and had been very cautious of giving him any just Occasion of Offence; well knowing that, in case they had given him the least Pretence of Dissatisfaction, he would have laid all the Blame at their Door; and therefore they prudently left the settling of the Church-Government, and the Liberty that was to be extended to tender Consciences, (an Engine by which *Cromwell* did most of his Work) to the Consideration of the next Assembly: Whereupon he wanting wherewith justly to accuse them, unless it were for too much complying with him to the Prejudice of the Commonwealth, after he had perused the Form of Government which the Assembly had agreed upon, and tendered to him for his Consideration; the five Months of their Session, according to the Soldiers Account of twenty-eight Days to the Month, being expired, they were ordered to attend him on the 22d of *January*, in the *Painted-Chamber*; where he made up with Words and Passion, what he wanted of Matter to charge them with.’

Thus far Mr. *Ludlow*’s Account of this Affair: It is now high Time to see what the Protector has to say for himself; whose Speech was *in hæc Verba*:

Gentlemen,

Cromwell’s
Speech at the
dissolving of his
second Parlia-
ment.

‘ I Perceive you are here as the House of Parliament, by your Speaker, whom I see here, and by your Faces, which are, in a great Measure, known to me.

‘ When

‘ From the original Edition, printed by *Henry Hills*, Printer to his Highness the Lord Protector, and published to prevent

Mistakes

‘ When I first met you in this Room, it was, to
 ‘ my Apprehension, the hopefullest Day that ever
 ‘ mine Eyes saw, as to Considerations of this
 ‘ World: For I did look at (as wrapt up in you,
 ‘ together with myself) the Hopes and the Happi-
 ‘ nels of (though not of the greatest, yet a very
 ‘ great, and) the best People in the World; and
 ‘ truly and unfeignedly I thought so; as a People
 ‘ that have the highest and the clearest Profession
 ‘ among them, of the greatest Glory, viz. Reli-
 ‘ gion; as a People that have been, like other Na-
 ‘ tions, some Times up and some Times down in
 ‘ our Honour in the World, but yet never so low but
 ‘ we might measure with other Nations; and a
 ‘ People that have had a Stamp upon them from
 ‘ God; God having, as it were, summed up all our
 ‘ former Glory and Honour, in the Things that
 ‘ are of Glory to Nations, in an Epitome, within
 ‘ these ten or twelve Years last past; so that we
 ‘ knew one another at home, and are well known
 ‘ abroad.

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‘ And, if I be not very much mistaken, we were
 ‘ arrived (as I, and truly, as I believe, many others
 ‘ did think) at a very safe Port, where we might
 ‘ sit down and contemplate the Dispensations of
 ‘ God and our Mercies; and might know our
 ‘ Mercies not to have been like to those of the An-
 ‘ tients, who did make out their Peace and Prospe-
 ‘ rity, as they thought, by their own Endeavours;
 ‘ who could not say, as we, that all ours were
 ‘ let down to us from God himself, whose Appear-
 ‘ ances and Providences amongst us are not to be
 ‘ outmatch’d by any Story.

C c 3

‘ Truly

Mistakes and false Copies. At the End of it is the following
 Order:

Monday, February 5, 1654.

At the Council at Whitehall.

Ordered, *That no Person or Persons whatsoever presume, at their
 Perils, on any Pretence whatsoever, to print or reprint, either in Part
 or in Whole, his Highness's Speech to the Parliament in the Painted-
 Chamber, at their Dissolution, on Monday the 22d of January,
 1654, other than Henry Hills, Printer to his Highness, and such as
 he shall employ and appoint in that behalf.*

W. JESSOP, Clerk of the Council.

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‘ Truly this was our Condition, and I know no-
 ‘ thing else we had to do, save as *Israel* was com-
 ‘ manded, in that most excellent Psalm of *David*,
 ‘ *Psal. lxxviii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. The Things which we*
 ‘ *have heard and known, and our Fathers have told*
 ‘ *us, we will not hide them from their Children;*
 ‘ *shewing to the Generation to come the Praise of the*
 ‘ *Lord, and his Strength, and his wonderful Works*
 ‘ *which he hath done; for he established a Testimony*
 ‘ *in Jacob, and appointed a Law in Israel, which*
 ‘ *he commanded our Fathers that they should make*
 ‘ *them known to their Children; that the Generation*
 ‘ *to come might know them, even the Children which*
 ‘ *should be born, who should arise and declare them*
 ‘ *to their Children, that they might set their Hope*
 ‘ *in God, and not forget the Works of God; but*
 ‘ *keep his Commandments.*

‘ This I thought had been a Song and a Work
 ‘ worthy of *England*, whereunto you might have
 ‘ happily invited them, had you had Hearts unto
 ‘ it.

‘ You had this Opportunity fairly delivered un-
 ‘ to you; and if a History shall be written of these
 ‘ Times and Transactions, it will be said (it will
 ‘ not be denied) that these Things that I have spo-
 ‘ ken are true.

‘ This Talent was put into your Hands; and I
 ‘ shall recur to that which I said at the first, I came
 ‘ with very great Joy, and Contentment, and
 ‘ Comfort, the first Time I met you in this Place;
 ‘ but we and these Nations are, for the present,
 ‘ under some Disappointment. If I had propos’d
 ‘ to have play’d the Orator, (which I never did af-
 ‘ fect, nor do, nor I hope shall) I doubt not but
 ‘ upon easy Suppositions, which I am perswaded
 ‘ every one among you will grant, we did meet
 ‘ upon such Hopes as these.

‘ I met you a second Time here; and, I confess,
 ‘ at that Meeting I had much Abatement of my
 ‘ Hopes, though not a total Frustration. I con-
 ‘ fess that that which damp’d my Hopes so soon,
 ‘ was somewhat that did look like a Parricide. It
 ‘ is

‘ is obvious enough unto you, that the Manage-
 ‘ ment of Affairs did favour of a not owning, too
 ‘ too much favour, I say, of a not owning the
 ‘ Authority that call’d you hither; but God left
 ‘ us not without an Expedient that gave a second
 ‘ Possibility: Shall I say a Possibility? It seem’d
 ‘ to me a Probability, of recovering out of that dis-
 ‘ satisfied Condition we were all then in, towards
 ‘ some Mutuality of Satisfaction; and therefore,
 ‘ by that Recognition, suiting with the Indenture
 ‘ that return’d you hither, to which afterwards al-
 ‘ so was added your own Declaration, conform-
 ‘ able to, and in Acceptance of, that Expedient;
 ‘ whereby you had, tho’ with a little Check, another
 ‘ Opportunity renewed unto you to have made this
 ‘ Nation as happy as it could have been, if every
 ‘ Thing had smoothly run on from that first Hour
 ‘ of your Meeting.

‘ And indeed (you will give me Liberty of my
 ‘ Thoughts and Hopes) I did think, as I have
 ‘ formerly found in that Way that I have been en-
 ‘ gaged in as a Soldier, that some Affronts put upon
 ‘ us, some Disasters at the first, have made Way
 ‘ for very great and happy Successes: And I did
 ‘ not at all despond, but the Stop put upon you
 ‘ would, in like Manner, have made Way for a
 ‘ Blessing from God; that Interruption being,
 ‘ as I thought, necessary to divert you from de-
 ‘ structive and violent Proceedings, to give Time
 ‘ for better Deliberations; whereby, leaving the
 ‘ Government as you found it, you might have pro-
 ‘ ceeded to have made those good and wholesome
 ‘ Laws, which the People expected from you;
 ‘ and might have answered the Grievances, and
 ‘ settled those other Things proper to you as a Par-
 ‘ liament, and for which you would have had
 ‘ Thanks from all that entrusted you.

‘ What hath happened since that Time, I have
 ‘ not taken public Notice of, as declining to in-
 ‘ trench upon Parliament Privileges: For, sure I
 ‘ am, you will all bear me witness, that from your
 ‘ entering into the House upon the Recognition,

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‘ to,

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‘ to this very Day, you have had no Manner of
‘ Interruption or, Hinderance of mine, in proceed-
‘ ing to that blessed Issue the Heart of a good Man
‘ could propose to himself, to this very Day.

‘ You see you have me very much lock’d up as to
‘ what you have transacted among yourselves from
‘ that Time to this; but some Things I shall take
‘ Liberty to speak of to you. As I may not take
‘ Notice what you have been doing, so I think I
‘ have a very great Liberty to tell you, that I do
‘ not know what you have been doing; I do not
‘ know whether you have been alive or dead; I have
‘ not once heard from you all this Time; I have
‘ not, and that you all know: If that be a Fault
‘ that I have not, surely it hath not been mine.

‘ If I have had any melancholy Thoughts, and
‘ have sat down by them, why might it not have
‘ been very lawful for me to think that I was a
‘ Person judg’d unconcern’d in all these Businessess?
‘ I can assure you I have not reckon’d myself, nor
‘ did I reckon myself, unconcern’d in you; and
‘ so long as any just Patience could support my
‘ Expectation, I would have waited to the utter-
‘ most to have received from you the Issues of your
‘ Consultations and Resolutions: I have been
‘ careful of your Safety, and the Safety of those
‘ that you represented, to whom I reckon myself
‘ a Servant.

‘ But what Messages have I disturb’d you with-
‘ all? What Injury or Indignity hath been done
‘ or offer’d, either to your Persons, or to any Pri-
‘ vileges of Parliament since you sat? I look’d at
‘ myself as strictly oblig’d by my Oath since your
‘ recognizing the Government, in the Authority
‘ of which you were call’d hither, and sat, to give
‘ you all possible Security, and to keep you from
‘ any Unparliamentary Interruption.

‘ Think you I could not say more upon this
‘ Subject, if I list’d to expatiate thereupon? But
‘ because my Actions plead for me I shall say no
‘ more of this.

‘ I say I have been caring for you, for your
 ‘ quiet sitting ; caring for your Privileges, as I said
 ‘ before, that they might not be interrupted ; have
 ‘ been seeking of God, from the Great God, a
 ‘ Blessing upon you, and a Blessing upon these Na-
 ‘ tions ; I have been consulting if possibly I might
 ‘ in any Thing promote, in my Place, the real
 ‘ Good of this Parliament, of the Hopefulness of
 ‘ which I have said so much unto you.

‘ And I did think it to be my Business rather to
 ‘ see the utmost Issue, and what God would pro-
 ‘ duce by you, than unseasonably to intermeddle
 ‘ with you : But, as I said before, I have been
 ‘ caring for you, and for the Peace and Quiet of
 ‘ the Nations ; indeed I have, and that I shall a
 ‘ little presently manifest unto you.

‘ And it leadeth me to let you know somewhat
 ‘ that I fear, I fear will be, through some Interpre-
 ‘ tation, a little too justly put upon you, whilst you
 ‘ have been employed as you have been, and (in
 ‘ all that Time expressed in the Government, in
 ‘ that Government, I say in that Government)
 ‘ brought forth nothing that you yourselves say can
 ‘ be taken Notice of, without Infringement of your
 ‘ Privileges.

‘ I will tell you somewhat, that, if it be not
 ‘ News to you, I wish you had taken very serious
 ‘ Consideration of ; if it be News, I wish I had ac-
 ‘ quainted you with it sooner ; and yet if any Man
 ‘ will ask me why I did it not, the Reason is given
 ‘ already, because I did make it my Business to give
 ‘ you no Interruption.

‘ There be some Trees that will not grow under
 ‘ the Shadow of other Trees ; there be some that
 ‘ chuse (a Man may say so by way of Allusion) to
 ‘ thrive under the Shadow of other Trees. I will
 ‘ tell you what hath thriven ; I will not say what
 ‘ you have cherish’d under your Shadow ; that were
 ‘ too hard. Instead of Peace and Settlement,
 ‘ instead of Mercy and Truth being brought toge-
 ‘ ther, Righteousness and Peace kissing each other,
 ‘ by

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‘ by reconciling the honest People of these Nations,
 ‘ and settling the woful Distempers that are amongst
 ‘ us, which had been glorious Things, and wor-
 ‘ thy of Christians to have proposed, Weeds and
 ‘ Nettles, Briars and Thorns, have thriven under
 ‘ your Shadow; Diffettlement and Division, Dis-
 ‘ content and Dissatisfaction, together with real
 ‘ Dangers to the whole, have been more multiplied
 ‘ within these five Months of your Sitting, than in
 ‘ some Years before.

‘ Foundations have been also laid for the future
 ‘ renewing the Troubles of these Nations, by all
 ‘ the Enemies of it abroad and at home: Let not
 ‘ these Words seem too sharp, for they are true as
 ‘ any Mathematical Demonstrations are or can be.
 ‘ I say, the Enemies of the Peace of these Nations,
 ‘ abroad and at home; the discontented Humours
 ‘ throughout these Nations, which I think no Man
 ‘ will grudge to call by that Name, or to make to
 ‘ allude to Briars and Thorns, they have nourish’d
 ‘ themselves under your Shadow.

‘ And that I may be clearly understood, they
 ‘ have taken the Opportunities from your Sitting,
 ‘ from the Hopes they had, which with easy Con-
 ‘ jecture they might take up, and conclude that
 ‘ there would be no Settlement; and therefore they
 ‘ have framed their Designs, preparing for the Ex-
 ‘ ecution of them accordingly.

‘ Now whether (which appertains not to me to
 ‘ judge of on their Behalf) they had any Occasion
 ‘ ministered for this, and from whence they had it,
 ‘ I list not to make any Scrutiny or Search; but I
 ‘ will say this, I think they had them not from me,
 ‘ I am sure they had not; from whence they had it
 ‘ is not my Business now to discourse, but that they
 ‘ had, is obvious to every Man’s Sense.

‘ What Preparations they have made to execute
 ‘ in such a Season as they thought fit to take their
 ‘ Opportunity from, that I know (not as Men
 ‘ know Things by Conjecture, but) by certain de-
 ‘ monstrable Knowledge; that they have been, for
 ‘ some

' some Time past, furnishing themselves with Arms,
 ' nothing doubting but that they should have a Day
 ' for it; and verily believing, that whatsoever their
 ' former Disappointments were, they should have
 ' more done for them by, and from, our own Divi-
 ' sions, than they were able to do for themselves.
 ' I desire to be understood, that in all I have to
 ' say of this Subject, you will take it that I have no
 ' Reservation in my Mind (as I have not) to mingle
 ' Things of Guess and Suspicion with Things of
 ' Fact; but the Things I am telling of are Fact,
 ' Things of evident Demonstration.

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' These Weeds, Briars, and Thorns, they have
 ' been preparing; and have brought their Designs
 ' to some Maturity, by the Advantages given to
 ' them, as aforesaid, from your Sitting and Pro-
 ' ceedings; but by the waking Eye that watched
 ' over that Cause that God will bless, they have
 ' been, and yet are, disappointed. And having
 ' mentioned that Cause, I say that slighted Cause,
 ' let me speak a few Words in behalf thereof, tho'
 ' it may seem too long a Digression. Whosoever
 ' despiseth it, and will say it is *non Causa pro Causa*,
 ' the all-searching Eye before-mentioned will find
 ' out that Man, and will judge him as one that re-
 ' gardeth not the Works of God, nor the Opera-
 ' tions of his Hands; for which God hath threat-
 ' ened that he will cast Men down, and not build
 ' them up. That because he can dispute, and tell
 ' us he knew not where the Cause begun, nor
 ' where it is, but modelleth it according to his
 ' own Intellect, and submits not to the Appear-
 ' ances of God in the World; therefore he lifts
 ' up his Heel against God, and mocketh at all
 ' his Providences, laughing at the Observations
 ' made up, not without Reason and the Scrip-
 ' tures, but by the quickening and teaching Spirit
 ' which gives Life to the other, calling such Ob-
 ' servations Enthusiasms. Such Men, I say, no
 ' Wonder if they stumble and fall backward, and
 ' be broken, and snared, and taken by the Things
 ' of

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' of which they are so maliciously and wilfully ig-
 ' norant. The Scriptures say, *The Rod has a*
 ' *Voice, and he will make himself known by the*
 ' *Judgments which he executeth*; and do we not
 ' think he will, and does, by the Providences of
 ' Mercy and Kindness which he hath for his
 ' People, and for their just Liberties, *whom he loves*
 ' *as the Apple of his Eye*? Doth he not by them
 ' manifest himself? And is he not thereby also seen,
 ' giving Kingdoms for them, giving Men for them,
 ' and People for their Lives? as it is in *Isaiah*,
 ' Chap. xliii. Is not this as fair a Lecture, and
 ' as clear speaking, as any Thing our dark Reason
 ' left to the Letter of the Scriptures can collect
 ' from them? By this Voice has God spoken ve-
 ' ry loud on the Behalf of his People, by judg-
 ' ing their Enemies in the late War, and restoring
 ' them a Liberty to worship with the Freedom of
 ' their Consciences, and Freedom in their Estates
 ' and Persons when they do so. And thus we have
 ' found the Cause of God by the Works of God,
 ' which are the Testimony of God; upon which
 ' Rock whosoever splits shall suffer Shipwreck.

' But it is your Glory, and it is mine, if I have
 ' any in the World, concerning the Interest of those
 ' that have an Interest in a better World; it is my
 ' Glory that I know a Cause, which yet we have not
 ' lost, but do hope we shall take a little Pleasure ra-
 ' ther to lose our Lives than lose. But you will ex-
 ' cuse this long Digression.

' I say unto you, whilst you have been in the
 ' midst of these Transactions, that Party, that Ca-
 ' valier Party, (I could wish some of them had
 ' thrust in here to have heard what I say) the Ca-
 ' valier Party have been designing and preparing to
 ' put this Nation in Blood again with a Witness;
 ' but because I am confident there are none of that
 ' Sort here, therefore I shall say the less to that;
 ' only this I must tell you, they have been making
 ' great Preparations of Arms; and, I do believe, it
 ' will be made evident to you, that they have raked

out

‘out many Thousands of Arms, even all that this City could afford, for divers Months last past.

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‘But it will be said, May we not arm ourselves for the Defence of our Houses? Will anyBody find Fault for that? No, for that the Reason of their doing so hath been as explicit, and under as clear Proof, as the Fact of doing so; for which I hope, by the Justice of the Land, some will, in the Face of the Nation, answer it with their Lives, and then the Business will be pretty well out of Doubt.

‘Banks of Money have been framing for these and other such like Uses; Letters have been issued with Privy-Seals, to as great Persons as most are in the Nation, for the Advance of Monies, which have been discovered to us by the Persons themselves; Commissions for Regiments of Horse and Foot, and Command of Castles, have been likewise given from *Charles Stuart*, since your Sitting; and what the general Insolences of that Party have been, the honest People have been sensible of, and can very well testify.

‘It hath not been only thus; but, as in a Quinsy or Pleurisy, where the Humour fixeth in one Part, give it Scope it will gather to that Place, to the hazarding of the whole; and it is natural to do so, till it destroy Nature in that Person on whomsoever this befalls.

‘So likewise will those Diseases take accidental Causes of Aggravation of their Distemper; and this was that which I did assert, That they have taken accidental Causes for the growing and encreasing of those Distempers, as much as would have been in the natural Body, if timely Remedy were not applied. And, indeed, Things were come to that Pass (in respect of which I shall give you a particular Account) that no mortal Physician, if the great Physician had not stepped in, could have cured the Distemper.

‘Shall I lay this upon your Account, or my own? I am sure I can lay it upon God’s Account; that, if he had not stepped in, the Disease had been mortal and destructive; and what is all

‘this

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‘ this ? Truly I must needs say, a Company of
 ‘ Men still, like Briars and Thorns, and worse,
 ‘ if worse can be ; of another Sort than those be-
 ‘ fore-mentioned to you have been, and yet are en-
 ‘ deavouring to put us into Blood, and into Con-
 ‘ fusion ; more desperate and dangerous Confusion
 ‘ than *England* ever yet saw.

‘ And I must say, as when *Gideon* commanded
 ‘ his Son to fall upon *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, and slay
 ‘ them, they thought it more noble to die by the
 ‘ Hand of a Man, than of a Stripling ; which shews,
 ‘ there is some Contentment in the Hand by which
 ‘ a Man falls : So it is some Satisfaction, if a Com-
 ‘ monwealth must perish, that it perish by Men,
 ‘ and not by the Hands of Persons differing little
 ‘ from Beasts ; that, if it must needs suffer, it
 ‘ should rather suffer from rich Men than from
 ‘ poor Men ; who, as *Solomon* says, *when they op-
 ‘ press, they leave nothing behind them, but are as a
 ‘ sweeping Rain.*

‘ Now, such as these also are grown up under
 ‘ your Shadow. But it will be asked, What have
 ‘ they done ? I hope, though they pretend Com-
 ‘ monwealths Interest, they have had no En-
 ‘ couragement from you ; but that, as before, ra-
 ‘ ther taken it, than that you have administered a-
 ‘ ny Cause unto them for so doing, from Delays,
 ‘ from Hopes that this Parliament would not set-
 ‘ tle ; from Pamphlets, mentioning strange Votes
 ‘ and Resolves of yours, which I hope did abuse
 ‘ you. Thus you see, whatever the Grounds were,
 ‘ these have been the Effects. And thus I have
 ‘ laid these Things before you, and you and others
 ‘ will be easily able to judge how far you are con-
 ‘ cerned.

‘ And what have these Men done ? They have al-
 ‘ so laboured to pervert where they could, and as
 ‘ they could, the honest-meaning People of the Na-
 ‘ tion. They have laboured to engage some in the
 ‘ Army ; and I doubt that not only they, but some
 ‘ others also, very well known to you, have help-
 ‘ ed in this Work of debauching and dividing the
 ‘ Army ;

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‘ Army; they have, they have, I would be loath
‘ to say, who, where, and how, ‘much more loath
‘ to say they were any of your own Number; but
‘ I can say, Endeavours have been to put the Ar-
‘ my into a Distemper, and to feed that which is
‘ the worst Humour in the Army; which, though
‘ it was not a mastering Humour, yet these took
‘ their Advantage from Delay of the Settlement,
‘ and the Practices before-mentioned, and stopping
‘ the Pay of the Army, to run us into Free Quar-
‘ ter, and to bring us into the Inconveniences most
‘ to be feared and avoided.

‘ What if I am able to make it appear in Fact, that
‘ some amongst you have run into the City of *Lon-*
‘ *don*, to persuade to Petitions and Addresses to you
‘ for reversing your own Votes that you have passed?
‘ Whether these Practices were in favour of your Li-
‘ berties, or tended to beget Hopes of Peace and Set-
‘ tlement from you; and whether debauching the
‘ Army in *England*, as is before expressed, and
‘ starving it, and putting it upon Free Quarter,
‘ and occasioning and necessitating the greatest Part
‘ thereof in *Scotland* to march into *England*, lea-
‘ ving the Remainder thereof to have their Throats
‘ cut there; and kindling, by the rest, a Fire in our
‘ own Bosoms, were for the Advantage of Affairs
‘ here, let the World judge?

‘ This I tell you also, that the Correspondency
‘ held with the Interest of the Cavaliers, by that
‘ Party of Men called Levellers, and who call them-
‘ selves Commonwealths Men; whose Declarati-
‘ ons were framed to that Purpose, and ready to be
‘ published at the Time of their common Rising,
‘ whereof we are possessed, and for which we have
‘ the Confession of themselves now in Custody^d;
‘ who confess also they built their Hopes upon the
‘ Assurance they had of the Parliament’s not a-
‘ greeding to a Settlement, whether these Humours
‘ have not nourished themselves under your Boughs,
‘ is

^d Many Examinations, Letters of Intelligence, and other Papers
above referred to, may be found in *2^d Series*, Vol. III. p. 64. p.
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‘ is the Subject of my present Discourse; and I think I say not amiss if I affirm it to be so.

‘ And I must say it again, that that which hath been their Advantage, thus to raise Disturbance, hath been by the Loss of those golden Opportunities that God hath put into your Hands for Settlement. Judge you whether these Things were thus or not when you first sat down; I am sure Things were not thus; there was a very great Peace and Sedateness throughout these Nations, and great Expectations of a happy Settlement, which I remembered to you at the Beginning of my Speech, and hoped that you would have entered upon your Business as you found it.

‘ There was a Government in the Possession of the People; I say a Government in the Possession of the People for many Months; it hath now been exercised near fifteen Months; and if it were needful that I should tell you how it came into their Possession, and how willingly they received it; how all Law and Justice were distributed from it in every respect, as to Life, Liberty, and Estate; how it was owned by God, as being the Dispensation of his Providence, after twelve Years War, and sealed and witnessed unto by the People, I should but repeat what I said in my last Speech made unto you in this Place, and therefore I forbear.

‘ When you were entered upon this Government, ravelling into it, (you know I took no Notice what you were doing) if you had gone upon that Foot of Account, to have made such good and wholesome Provisions for the Good of the People of these Nations, for the Settling of such Matters in Things of Religion as would have upheld and given Countenance to a godly Ministry; and yet would have given a just Liberty to godly Men of different Judgments, Men of the same Faith with them that you call the Orthodox Ministry in *England*, as it is well known the Independents are, and many under the Form of Baptism, who are found in the Faith, only may per-

haps

‘ haps be different in Judgment in some lesser Mat-
 ‘ ters; yet as true Christians, both looking at Sal-
 ‘ vation only by Faith in the Blood of *Christ*;
 ‘ Men professing the Fear of God, having Recourse
 ‘ to the Name of God, as to a strong Tower; I
 ‘ say you might have had Opportunity to have set-
 ‘ tled Peace and Quietness amongst all professing
 ‘ Godliness, and might have been instrumental,
 ‘ if not to have healed the Breaches, yet to have
 ‘ kept the Godly of all Judgments from running
 ‘ one upon another; and by keeping them from
 ‘ being over-run by a common Enemy, rendered
 ‘ them and these Nations both secure, happy,
 ‘ and well satisfied.

‘ Are these Things done, or any Thing towards
 ‘ them? Is there not yet upon the Spirits of Men
 ‘ a strange Itch? Nothing will satisfy them, unless
 ‘ they can put their Finger upon their Brethrens
 ‘ Consciences, to pinch them there. To do this
 ‘ was no Part of the Contest we had with the com-
 ‘ mon Adversary; for Religion was not the Thing
 ‘ at the first contested for; but God brought it to
 ‘ that Issue at last, and gave it unto us by way of
 ‘ Redundancy; and at last it proved to be that
 ‘ which was most dear to us; and wherein consisted
 ‘ this, more than in obtaining that Liberty, from
 ‘ the Tyranny of the Bishops, to all Species of Pro-
 ‘ testants, to worship God according to their own
 ‘ Light and Consciences? For want of which
 ‘ many of our Brethren forsook their native Coun-
 ‘ tries, to seek their Bread from Strangers, and to
 ‘ live in howling Wilderesses; and for which
 ‘ also many that remained here were imprisoned
 ‘ and otherwise abused, and made the Scorn of the
 ‘ Nation.

‘ Those that were found in the Faith, how pro-
 ‘ per was it for them to labour for Liberty, for a just
 ‘ Liberty, that Men should not be trampled upon
 ‘ for their Consciences? Had not they laboured but
 ‘ lately under the Weight of Persecutions, and
 ‘ was it fit for them to sit heavy upon others? Is
 ‘ it ingenuous to ask Liberty, and not to give it?

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‘ What greater Hypocrisy, than for those who were
 ‘ oppressed by the Bishops to become the greatest
 ‘ Oppressors themselves, so soon as their Yoke was
 ‘ removed? I could wish that they who call for
 ‘ Liberty now also had not too much of that Spirit,
 ‘ if the Power were in their Hands.

‘ As for profane Persons, Blasphemers, such as
 ‘ preach Sedition, the contentious Railers, evil
 ‘ Speakers, who seek, by evil Words, to corrupt
 ‘ good Manners, Persons of loose Conversations,
 ‘ Punishment from the Civil Magistrate ought to
 ‘ meet with them; because, if these pretend Con-
 ‘ science, yet walking disorderly, and not accord-
 ‘ ing but contrary to the Gospel, and even to na-
 ‘ tural Light, they are judged of all; and their
 ‘ Sins, being open, make them Subjects of the
 ‘ Magistrates Sword, who ought not to bear it
 ‘ in vain.

‘ The Discipline of the Army was such, that a
 ‘ Man would not be suffered to remain there, of
 ‘ whom we could take Notice he was guilty of
 ‘ such Practices as these: And therefore how hap-
 ‘ py would *England* have been, and you, and I, if
 ‘ the Lord had led you on to have settled upon such
 ‘ good Accounts as these are, and to have discoun-
 ‘ tenanced such Practices as the other, and left
 ‘ Men in disputable Things free to their own Con-
 ‘ sciences; which was well provided for by the
 ‘ Government, and Liberty left to provide against
 ‘ what was apparently evil.

‘ Judge you, whether the contesting for Things
 ‘ that were provided for by this Government hath
 ‘ been profitable Expence of Time for the Good
 ‘ of these Nations? By Means whereof you may
 ‘ see you have wholly elapsed your Time, and
 ‘ done just nothing.

‘ I will say this to you in Behalf of the Long
 ‘ Parliament, that had such an Expedient as this
 ‘ Government been proposed to them, and that
 ‘ they could have seen the Cause of God thus pro-
 ‘ vided for; and had, by Debates, been enlightened
 ‘ in the Grounds by which the Difficulties might
 ‘ have

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‘ have been cleared, and the Reason of the whole
‘ inforced, the Circumstances of Time and Per-
‘ sons, with the Temper and Dispositions of the
‘ People, and Affairs both Abroad and at Home,
‘ when it was undertaken, well weighed, (as well
‘ as they were thought to love their Seats) I think
‘ in my Conscience, that they would have proceed-
‘ ed in another Manner than you have done ; and
‘ not have expos’d Things to those Difficulties and
‘ Hazards they now are at, nor given Occasion to
‘ leave the People so dissettled as now they are ;
‘ who, I dare say, in the soberest and most judicious
‘ Part of them, did expect not a questioning, but
‘ a doing Things in Pursuance of the Government ;
‘ and, if I be not misinformed, very many of you
‘ came up with this Satisfaction, having had Time
‘ enough to weigh and consider the same.

‘ And when I say such an Expedient as this Go-
‘ vernment is, wherein I dare assert there is a just
‘ Liberty to the People of God, and the just Rights
‘ of the People in these Nations provided for, I
‘ can put the Issue thereof upon the clearest Reason,
‘ whatsoever any go about to suggest to the contrary.

‘ But this not being the Time and Place of such
‘ an Averment, for Satisfaction Sake herein enough
‘ is said in a Book, intituled, *A State of the Case
‘ of the Commonwealth*, &c. published in January
‘ 1654^b : And for myself I desire not to keep it an
‘ Hour longer than I may preserve *England* in its
D d 2 ‘ just

^b The Title at large of this Piece, which we have in our *Collec-
tions*, runs thus, *A true State of the Case of the Commonwealth of
England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging,
in reference to the late established Government by a Lord Protector
and a Parliament ; manifesting therein not only a Consistency with,
and necessary Consequence upon, the foregoing Alterations, but also a
full Conformity to the declared Principles and Engagements of the
Parliament and Army : It being the Judgment of divers Persons,
who, throughout these late Troubles, have approv’d themselves faith-
ful to the Cause and Interest of God and their Country, and presented
to the Public for the Satisfaction of others.* London, printed by
Thomas Newcomb.

It is wrote with great Spirit of Language and Subtily of Argu-
ment ; and, from many Passages therein, it seems highly probable
that Cromwell was not a little concerned in the penning of it.

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‘ just Rights, and may protect the People of God
 ‘ in such a just Liberty of their Consciences as I
 ‘ have already mentioned; and therefore if this
 ‘ Parliament have judged Things to be otherwise
 ‘ than as I have stated them, it had been huge
 ‘ Friendliness between Persons that had such a Re-
 ‘ ciprocation, and in so great Concernments to the
 ‘ Publick, for them to have convinced me in what
 ‘ Particulars therein my Error lay, of which I ne-
 ‘ ver yet had a Word from you: But, if instead
 ‘ thereof, your Time has been spent in setting up
 ‘ somewhat else upon another Bottom than this
 ‘ stands, that looks as if the laying Grounds of a
 ‘ Quarrel had rather been designed, than to give
 ‘ the People Settlement; if it be thus, ’tis well
 ‘ your Labours have not arrived to any Maturity
 ‘ at all.

‘ This Government called you hither, the Con-
 ‘ stitution thereof being so limited, a Single Per-
 ‘ son and a Parliament; and this was thought most
 ‘ agreeable to the general Sense of the Nation, ha-
 ‘ ving had Experience enough by Trial of other
 ‘ Conclusions, judging this most likely to avoid
 ‘ the Extremes of Monarchy on the one Hand, and
 ‘ Democracy on the other, and yet not to found
 ‘ *Dominium in Gratia*; and, if so, then certainly
 ‘ to make it more than a Notion it was requisite
 ‘ that it should be as it is in the Government, which
 ‘ puts it upon a true and equal Balance. It has
 ‘ been already submitted to the judicious honest
 ‘ People of this Nation, whether the Balance be not
 ‘ equal; and what their Judgment is, is visible, by
 ‘ Submission to it, by acting upon it, by restraining
 ‘ their Trustees from meddling with it; and it
 ‘ neither asks or needs any better Ratification. But
 ‘ when Trustees in Parliament shall, by Experience,
 ‘ find any Evil in any Parts of the Government,
 ‘ referred by the Government itself to the Consi-
 ‘ deration of the Protector and Parliament (of
 ‘ which Time itself will be the best Discoverer)
 ‘ how can it be reasonably imagined, that a Per-
 ‘ son, or Persons, coming in by Election, and
 ‘ standing

standing under such Obligations, and so limited,
and so necessitated by Oath to govern for the
People's Good, and to make their Love, under
God, the best Under-propping, and his
best Interest to him; how can it, I say, be imagi-
ned, that the present or succeeding Protectors will
refuse to agree to alter any such Thing in the Go-
vernment that may be found to be for the Good
of the People, or to recede from any Thing which
he might be convinced casts the Balance too
much to the Single Person? And although, for
the present, the keeping up, and having in his
Power, the Militia seems the most hard, yet if
it should be yeilded up at such a Time as this,
when there is as much need to keep this Cause
by it (which is most evidently at this Time im-
pugned by all the Enemies of it) as there was to
get it, what would become of all? Or if it should
not be equally placed in him and the Parliament,
but yielded up at any Time, it determines his
Power, either for doing the Good he ought, or
hindering Parliaments from perpetuating them-
selves, or from imposing what Religions they
please on the Consciences of Men, or what Go-
vernment they please upon the Nation; thereby
subjecting us to Dissettlement in every Pårliament,
and to the desperate Consequences thereof: And
if the Nation shall happen to fall into a blessed
Peace, how easily and certainly will their Charge
be taken off, and their Forces be disbanded; and
then where will the Danger be to have the Mili-
tia thus stated?

What if I should say, If there should be a Dis-
proportion or Disequality as to the Power, it is
on the other Hand; and, if this be so, wherein
have you had Cause to quarrel? What Demon-
strations have you held forth to settle me to your
Opinion? I would you had made me so happy as
to have let me have known your Grounds. I
have made a free and ingenuous Confession of my
Faith to you, and I could have wished it had been
in your Hearts to have agreed that some friendly

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‘ and cordial Debates might have been towards
 ‘ mutual Conviction: Was there none amongst
 ‘ you to move such a Thing? No Fitness to listen
 ‘ to it? No Desire of a right Understanding? If it
 ‘ be not Folly in me to listen to Town-talk, such
 ‘ Things have been propos’d, and reject’d with
 ‘ Stiffness and Severity, once and again; was it
 ‘ not likely to have been more advantageous to
 ‘ the Good of this Nation? I will say this to
 ‘ you for myself, and to that I have my Conscience
 ‘ as a thousand Witnesses, and I have my Comfort
 ‘ and Contentment in it, and I have the Witness
 ‘ of divers here, that, I think, truly scorn to own
 ‘ me in a Lye, that I would not have been averse
 ‘ to any Alteration, of the Good of which I might
 ‘ have been convinced, although I could not have
 ‘ agreed to the taking it off the Foundation on
 ‘ which it stands, *viz.* the Acceptation and Con-
 ‘ sent of the People.

‘ I will not preface what you have been about
 ‘ or doing in all this Time, nor do I love to make
 ‘ Conjectures; but I must tell you this, that as I
 ‘ undertook this Government in the Simplicity of
 ‘ my Heart, and as before God, and to do the
 ‘ Part of an honest Man, and to be true to the
 ‘ Interest which, in my Conscience, is dear to
 ‘ many of you, (though it is not always understood
 ‘ what God in his Wisdom may hide from us, as
 ‘ to Peace and Settlement) so I can say, that no
 ‘ particular Interest, either of myself, Estate, Ho-
 ‘ nour, or Family, are, or have been, prevalent
 ‘ with me to this Undertaking.

‘ For if you had, upon the old Government,
 ‘ offer’d to me this one, this one Thing, (I speak,
 ‘ as thus advis’d, and before God, as having been
 ‘ to this Day of this Opinion; and this hath been
 ‘ my constant Judgment, well known to many that
 ‘ hear me speak) if this one Thing had been in-
 ‘ serted, this one Thing that the Government
 ‘ should have been plac’d in my Family Here-
 ‘ ditarily, I would have reject’d it; and I could
 ‘ have done no other, according to my present
 ‘ Con-

‘ Conscience and Light; I will tell you my Reason, though I cannot tell what God will do with me, nor you, nor the Nation, for throwing away precious Opportunities committed to us.

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‘ This hath been my Principle, and I liked it when this Government came first to be proposed to me, that it puts us off that Hereditary Way; well looking, that as God had declared what Government he had delivered over to the *Jews*, and placed it upon such Persons as had been instrumental for the Conduct and Deliverance of his People: And considering that Promise in *Isaiah*, that God would *give Rulers as at the first, and Judges as at the Beginning*, I did not know but that God might begin; and though at present with a most unworthy Person, yet, as to the future, it might be after this Manner, and I thought this might usher it in. I am speaking as to my Judgment against making it Hereditary, to have Men chosen for their Love to God, and to Truth and Justice, and not to have it Hereditary; for as it is in *Ecclesiastes*, *Who knoweth whether he may beget a Fool or a wise Man*, honest or not? Whatever they be, they must come in on that Account, because the Government is made a Patrimony.

‘ And this I do perhaps declare with too much Earnestness, as being my own Concernment, and know not what Place it may have in your Hearts, and of the good People in the Nation; but, however it be, I have Comfort in this my Truth and Plainness.

‘ I have thus told you my Thoughts, which, truly, I have declared to you in the Fear of God, as knowing he will not be mocked; and in the Strength of God, as knowing and rejoicing that I am kept in my speaking; especially when I do not form or frame Things without the Compass of Integrity and Honesty, that my own Conscience gives me not the Lye to what I say; and then, in what I say, I can rejoice.

‘ Now, to speak a Word or two to you: Of that I must profess, in the Name of the same Lord,
‘ and

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‘ and wish that there had been no Cause that I
 ‘ should have thus spoken to you; and though I
 ‘ have told you that I came with Joy the first Time,
 ‘ with some Regret the second, yet now I speak
 ‘ with most Regret of all.

‘ I look upon you, as having among you many
 ‘ Persons that I could lay down my Life individu-
 ‘ ally for; I could, through the Grace of God,
 ‘ desire to lay down my Life for you; so far am I
 ‘ from having an unkind or unchristian Heart to-
 ‘ wards you in your particular Capacities.

‘ I have this indeed as a Work most incumbent
 ‘ upon me; I consulted what might be my Duty
 ‘ in such a Day as this, casting up all Considera-
 ‘ tions. I must confess, as I told you, that I did
 ‘ think, occasionally, this Nation hath suffered
 ‘ extremely in the Respects mentioned, as also in
 ‘ the Disappointments of their Expectations of that
 ‘ Justice that was due to them by your sitting thus
 ‘ long; and what have you brought forth?

‘ I did not, nor cannot, apprehend what it is;
 ‘ I would be loath to call it a Fate, that were too
 ‘ *Paganish* a Word; but there was something in
 ‘ it that we have not in our Expectations.

‘ I did think also, for myself, that I am like to
 ‘ meet with Difficulties; and that this Nation will
 ‘ not, as it is fit it should not, be deluded with
 ‘ Pretexts of Necessity in that great Business of
 ‘ raising of Money: And were it not that I can
 ‘ make some Dilemma’s, upon which to resolve
 ‘ some Things of my Conscience, Judgment, and
 ‘ Actions, I should sink at the very Prospect of my
 ‘ Encounters; some of them are general, some are
 ‘ more special. Supposing this Cause, or this Bu-
 ‘ siness, must be carried on, it is either of God, or
 ‘ of Man; if it be of Man, I would I had never
 ‘ touched it with a Finger. If I had not had a
 ‘ Hope fix’d in me that this Cause, and this Busi-
 ‘ ness, is of God, I would many Years ago have
 ‘ run from it; if it be of God, he will bear it up;
 ‘ if it be of Man, it will tumble, as every Thing
 ‘ that hath been of Man since the World began
 ‘ hath

‘ hath done. And what are all our Histories, and
 ‘ other Traditions of Actions in former Times,
 ‘ but God manifesting himself, that he hath shaken
 ‘ and tumbled down, and trampled upon, every
 ‘ Thing that he hath not planted? And as this is,
 ‘ so the All-wise God deal with it.

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‘ If this be of human Structure and Invention,
 ‘ and it be an old Plotting and Contrivance to bring
 ‘ Things to this Issue, and that they are not the
 ‘ Births of Providence, then they will tumble :
 ‘ But if the Lord take Pleasure in *England*, and if
 ‘ he will do us good, he is able to bear us up; let
 ‘ the Difficulties be whatsoever they will, we shall,
 ‘ in his Strength, be able to encounter with them.
 ‘ And, I bless God, I have been inured to Diffi-
 ‘ culties, and I never found God failing when I
 ‘ trusted in him : I can laugh and sing in my Heart
 ‘ when I speak of these Things to you, or else-
 ‘ where. And tho’ some may think it is an hard
 ‘ Thing, without Parliamentary Authority, to raise
 ‘ Money upon this Nation; yet I have another
 ‘ Argument to the good People of this Nation, if
 ‘ they would be safe, and have no better Principle;
 ‘ whether they prefer the having of their Will,
 ‘ though it be their Destruction, rather than com-
 ‘ ply with Things of Necessity? That will excuse
 ‘ me; but I should wrong my native Country to
 ‘ suppose this.

‘ For I look at the People of these Nations as the
 ‘ Blessing of the Lord, and they are a People blef-
 ‘ sed by God. They have been so, and they will
 ‘ be so, by reason of that immortal Seed which
 ‘ hath been and is among them, those regenerated
 ‘ Ones in the Land, of several Judgments, who are
 ‘ all the Flock of *Christ*, and Lambs of *Christ*,
 ‘ though perhaps under many unruly Passions and
 ‘ Troubles of Spirit, whereby they give Disquiet
 ‘ to themselves and others; yet they are not so to
 ‘ God as to us; he is a God of other Patience,
 ‘ and he will own the least of Truth in the Hearts
 ‘ of his People; and the People being the Blessing
 ‘ of

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‘ of God, they will not be so angry but they will
 ‘ prefer their Safety to their Passions, and their real
 ‘ Security to Forms, when Necessity calls for Sup-
 ‘ plies. Had they not well been acquainted with
 ‘ this Principle, they had never seen this Day of
 ‘ Gospel-Liberty.

‘ But if any Man shall object, It is an easy Thing
 ‘ to talk of Necessities, when Men create Necessi-
 ‘ ties; would not the Lord Protector make himself
 ‘ great, and his Family great? Doth not he make
 ‘ these Necessities? And then he will come upon
 ‘ the People with this Argument of Necessity.

‘ This were something hard indeed; but I have
 ‘ not yet known what it is to make Necessities,
 ‘ whatsoever the Judgments or Thoughts of Men
 ‘ are. And I say this, not only to this Assembly
 ‘ but to the World, that that Man liveth not that
 ‘ can come to me and charge me that I have, in
 ‘ these great Revolutions, made Necessities; I chal-
 ‘ lenge even all that fear God; and as God hath
 ‘ said, *my Glory I will not give unto another*; let
 ‘ Men take heed, and be twice advised, how they
 ‘ call his Revolutions the Things of God, and his
 ‘ working of Things from one Period to another,
 ‘ how, I say, they call them Necessities of Men’s
 ‘ Creation; for by so doing they do vilify and lessen
 ‘ the Works of God, and rob him of his Glory,
 ‘ which, he hath said, he *will not give unto another*,
 ‘ nor suffer to be taken from him. We know
 ‘ what God did to *Herod* when he was applauded,
 ‘ and did not acknowledge God; and God know-
 ‘ eth what he will do with Men when they shall
 ‘ call his Revolutions human Designs, and so de-
 ‘ tract from his Glory, when they have not been
 ‘ forecast, but sudden Providences in Things,
 ‘ whereby carnal and worldly Men are enraged;
 ‘ and under and at which many, I fear, (some
 ‘ good) have murmured and repined, because dis-
 ‘ appointed of their mistaken Fancies: But still
 ‘ they have been the wise Disposings of the Al-
 ‘ mighty, though Instruments have had their Pas-
 ‘ sions

‘ fions and Frailties ; and I think it is an Honour
 ‘ to God to acknowledge the Neceſſities to have
 ‘ been of God’s impoſing, when truly they have
 ‘ been ſo, as indeed they have, when we take our
 ‘ Sin in our Actings to ourſelves ; and much more
 ‘ ſafe than to judge Things ſo contingent as if
 ‘ there were not a God that ruled the Earth.

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‘ We know the Lord hath poured this Nation
 ‘ from Veſſel to Veſſel, till he poured it into your
 ‘ Lap, when you came firſt together : I am confi-
 ‘ dent that it came ſo into your Hands ; and was not
 ‘ judged by you to be from counterfeited or feigned
 ‘ Neceſſity, but by Divine Providence and Diſpen-
 ‘ ſation. And this I ſpeak with more Earneſtneſs,
 ‘ becauſe I ſpeak for God, and not for Men ; I
 ‘ would have any Man to come and tell of the
 ‘ Tranſactions that have been, and of thoſe Periods
 ‘ of Time wherein God hath made theſe Revo-
 ‘ lutions, and find where they can fix a feigned
 ‘ Neceſſity.

‘ I could recite Particulars, if either my Strength
 ‘ would ſerve me to ſpeak, or yours to hear ; if
 ‘ that you would revolve the great Hand of God in
 ‘ his great Diſpenſations, you would find that there
 ‘ is ſcarce a Man that fell off at any Period of
 ‘ Time when God had any Work to do, that can
 ‘ give God or his Work, at this Day, a good
 ‘ Word.

‘ It was, ſay ſome, the Cunning of the Lord
 ‘ Protector ; I take it to myſelf : It was the Craft of
 ‘ ſuch a Man, and his Plot that hath brought it
 ‘ about : And, as they ſay in other Countries, there
 ‘ are five or ſix cunning Men in *England* that have
 ‘ Skill, they do all theſe Things : Oh what Blaſ-
 ‘ phemy is this ! becauſe Men, that are without God
 ‘ in the World, and walk not with him, know
 ‘ not what it is to pray, or believe, and to receive
 ‘ Returns from God, and to be ſpoken unto by the
 ‘ Spirit of God, who ſpeaks without a written
 ‘ Word ſometimes, yet according to it. God hath
 ‘ ſpoken heretofore in divers Manners, let him
 ‘ ſpeak as he pleaſeth : Hath he not given us Li-
 ‘ berty ?

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‘ berty? Nay, is it not our Duty to go to the Law
 ‘ and to the Testimony? And there we shall find
 ‘ that there have been Impressions in extraordinary
 ‘ Cases, as well without the written Word as with
 ‘ it; and therefore there is no Difference in the
 ‘ Thing thus asserted from Truths generally re-
 ‘ ceived, except we will exclude the Spirit, with-
 ‘ out whose Concurrence all other Teachings are
 ‘ ineffectual. He doth speak to the Hearts and Con-
 ‘ sciences of Men, and leadeth them to his Law
 ‘ and Testimony; and there he speaks to them,
 ‘ and so gives them double Teachings according to
 ‘ that of *Job*, *God speaketh once, yea twice*; and
 ‘ that of *David*, *God hath spoken once, yea twice*
 ‘ *have I heard this*. Those Men that live upon
 ‘ their *Mumpsimus* and *Sumpsimus*^c, their Masses
 ‘ and Service-Books, their dead and carnal Wor-
 ‘ ship, no Marvel if they be Strangers to God,
 ‘ and the Works of God, and to Spiritual Dispen-
 ‘ sations. And because they say and believe thus,
 ‘ must we do so too? We in this Land have been
 ‘ otherwise instructed, even by the Word, and
 ‘ Works, and Spirit of God.

‘ To say that Men bring forth these Things,
 ‘ when God doth them, judge you if God will
 ‘ bear this. I wish that every sober Heart, tho’
 ‘ he hath had Temptations upon him of deserting
 ‘ this Cause of God, yet may take heed how he
 ‘ provokes, and falls into the Hands of, the living
 ‘ God by such Blasphemies as these, according to
 ‘ the tenth of the *Hebrews*, *If we sin wilfully after*
 ‘ *that we have received the Knowledge of the Truth,*
 ‘ *there remains no more Sacrifice for Sin*. It was
 ‘ spoken to the *Jews* that, having professed *Christ*,
 ‘ apostatized from him: What then? Nothing
 ‘ but a fearful Falling into the Hands of the living
 ‘ God.

‘ They that shall attribute to this or that Person
 ‘ the Contrivances and Production of those mighty
 ‘ Things

^c *Cromwell* seems to have borrowed this Expression from King
Henry the Eighth’s last Speech to his Parliament, *Anno* 1546.

See our *Third Volume*, p. 205.

‘ Things God hath wrought in the midst of us ;
 ‘ and that they have not been the Revolutions of
 ‘ *Christ* himself, upon whose Shoulders the Go-
 ‘ vernment is laid, they speak against God, and
 ‘ they fall under his Hand without a Mediator ;
 ‘ that is, if we deny the Spirit of *Jesus Christ*, the
 ‘ Glory of all his Works in the World, by which
 ‘ he rules Kingdoms, and doth administer, and is
 ‘ the Rod of his Strength, we provoke the Medi-
 ‘ ator ; and he may say, I’ll leave you to God,
 ‘ I’ll not intercede for you, let him tear you to
 ‘ Pieces ; I’ll leave thee to fall into God’s Hands ;
 ‘ thou deniest me my Sovereignty and Power com-
 ‘ mitted to me ; I’ll not intercede nor mediate for
 ‘ thee, thou fallest into the Hands of the living
 ‘ God : Therefore whatsoever you may judge Men
 ‘ for, and say, This Man is cunning, and politic,
 ‘ and subtle ; take heed again, I say, how you
 ‘ judge of his Revolutions, as the Products of Men’s
 ‘ Inventions.

‘ I may be thought to press too much upon this
 ‘ Theme ; but I pray God it may stick upon your
 ‘ Hearts and mine. The worldly-minded Man
 ‘ knows nothing of this, but is a Stranger to it ;
 ‘ and because of this, his Atheisms and Murmur-
 ‘ ings at Instruments, yea, repining at God him-
 ‘ self : And no Wonder, considering the Lord hath
 ‘ done such Things amongst us as have not been
 ‘ known in the World these thousand Years ; and
 ‘ yet, notwithstanding, is not owned by us.

‘ There is another Necessity which you have put
 ‘ upon us, and we have not sought. I appeal to
 ‘ God, Angels, and Men, if I shall raise Money
 ‘ according to the Article in the Government
 ‘ which had Power to call you hither, and did ;
 ‘ and, instead of seasonably providing for the Ar-
 ‘ my, you have laboured to overthrow the Govern-
 ‘ ment, and the Army is now upon Free Quarter ;
 ‘ and you would never so much as let me hear a
 ‘ Title from you concerning it : Where is the
 ‘ Fault ? Has it not been as if you had a Purpose to
 ‘ put this Extremity upon us and the Nation ? I
 ‘ hope

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‘ hope this was not in your Minds, I am not wil-
 ‘ ling to judge so; but this is the State unto which
 ‘ we are reduced. By the Designs of some in the
 ‘ Army, who are now in Custody ^f, it was design’d
 ‘ to get as many of them as could, (through Dis-
 ‘ content for want of Money, the Army being in
 ‘ a barren Country, near thirty Weeks behind in
 ‘ Pay, and upon other specious Pretences) to
 ‘ march for *England* out of *Scotland*; and, in Dis-
 ‘ content, to seize their General there, a faithful
 ‘ and honest Man, that so another might head the
 ‘ Army, and all this Opportunity taken from your
 ‘ Delays: Whether will this be a Thing of feign’d
 ‘ Necessity? What could it signify, but that the
 ‘ Army are in Discontent already; and, we’ll
 ‘ make them live upon Stones; we’ll make them
 ‘ cast off their Governors and Discipline? What
 ‘ can be said to this? I list not to unsaddle myself,
 ‘ and put the Fault upon others Backs: Whether
 ‘ it hath been for the Good of *England*, whilst Men
 ‘ have been talking of this Thing or the other,
 ‘ and pretending Liberty, and many good Words,
 ‘ whether it has been as it should have been? I
 ‘ am confident you cannot think it has, the Nation
 ‘ will not think so. And, if the Worst should be
 ‘ made of Things, I know not what the *Cornish*
 ‘ Men, or the *Lincolnshire* Men, may think, or
 ‘ other Counties; but I believe they will all think
 ‘ they are not safe. A temporary Suspension of
 ‘ caring for the greatest Liberties and Privileges
 ‘ (if it were so, which is denied) would not have
 ‘ been of that Damage, that the not providing
 ‘ against Free Quarter hath run the Nation upon.
 ‘ And if it be my Liberty to walk abroad in the
 ‘ Fields, or to take a Journey, yet it is not my
 ‘ Wisdom to do so when my House is on Fire.

‘ I have troubled you with a long Speech, and
 ‘ I believe it may not have the same Resentment
 ‘ with

^f Lord Grey of Grooby, Major-Generals Harrison and Overton,
 Colonels Rich, Carew, Courtney, and others.

Tkurlce, Vol. III. p. 64, 66, 67, 147, et seq.

‘ with all that it hath with some: But because that
 ‘ is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God, and
 ‘ conclude with this; That I think myself bound as
 ‘ in my Duty to God and the People of these Na-
 ‘ tions, to their Safety and Good in every Respect,
 ‘ I think it my Duty to tell you, That it is not for
 ‘ the Profit of these Nations, nor for Common and
 ‘ Public Good, for you to continue here any long-
 ‘ er; and therefore I do declare unto you, That
 ‘ I do dissolve this Parliament.’

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 February.

Cromwell having now got rid of his Parliament, because he found them not so pliable to his Purposes as he expected, he and his Council applied themselves closely to the making of Laws without them. The first Thing they did was to pass an Ordinance for laying an Assessment of 60,000 *l.* *per Menssem* for the Maintenance of the Army and Navy; they also passed an Ordinance for Continuance of the Alms-Houses and poor Knights of *Windsor-Castle*; and another for enforcing the Acts and Ordinances made before the Meeting of the last Parliament, touching the collecting of the Excise throughout *England, Scotland, and Ireland*; besides which some other Ordinances were also framed to soften the Minds of the People, and reconcile them to the Protector’s Government, by lightening the Burdens and Inconveniences in the Proceedings of the Law, and other Matters, an Account of which will be given hereafter.

February. About this Time a Plot was discovered, which had been laid by the Royalists, and was to have been executed in different Parts of the Kingdom at the same Time: But being unsuccessful, it proved a lucky Incident to *Cromwell*, by serving the more effectually to strengthen his Usurpation: Besides, it diverted the Minds of the People from reflecting so warmly on the Protector’s late Actions, as they otherwise might have done. Upon the first Information thereof he sent for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Coun-
 A Plot against him defeated.

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Council of *London*; and, acquainting them with the Conspiracy against him, required them to take Care of the Peace of the City, for which Purpose he gave them a Commission to raise Forces under Major-General *Skippon*. He also issued a Proclamation for prohibiting Horse-Races for six Months, lest the great Concourse of People, usually frequenting such Meetings, should furnish Opportunities for raising fresh Troubles in the Commonwealth; another for putting in Execution the Laws and Ordinances against Jesuits and *Romish* Priests, and for the speedy Conviction of Popish Recusants; and a third for commanding all Persons, who had been of the late King's Party, or his Son's, to depart out of *London* and *Westminster*, and within twenty Miles thereof, (unless it were their proper Place of Habitation) within six Days after the Publication of the said Proclamation.

Mr. *Ludlow* seems to blame the King of *Scots*, as he calls him, for engaging his Friends in this desperate Undertaking, which cost the Lives of many, when he might see clearly his Game was playing by the Usurper, through the Divisions he made amongst those whose Interest it was to be united in Opposition to the King^a. *Cromwell*, who spared no Money to get Intelligence of these Designs, was before-hand with the Royalists, and seized upon many of them e'er they had Time to draw together; others, that were up in Arms, were discomfited and taken, and all the Prisons in *England* were filled with them.

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April. Now followed Executions upon Executions in different Places; after which came Confiscations and other severe Penalties, exacted from the whole Royal Party; in which *Cromwell* broke through all their Compositions, and even the Act of Oblivion itself, in obtaining and passing of which

^a *Memoirs*, p. 513.

which he had so great a Hand, when it was his Interest to cajole the Cavalier Party : To this End he and his Council passed an Ordinance for levying a tenth Part of their Estates to maintain, as he pretended, those extraordinary Forces, which their turbulent and seditious Practices obliged him to keep up ; and, in order to put this detestable Project in Execution, he divided *England* into twelve Cantons, over each of which he placed a Bashaw, under the Title of Major-General, who was to have the Inspection and Government of inferior Commissioners in every County, with Orders to seize the Persons and distrain the Estates of such as should be refractory, and to put in Execution such further Directions as they should receive from him.

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Whereupon he appoints a Number of Major-Generals to prevent Insurrections against his Government.

The Names of these Major-Generals, with the respective Districts under their Command, were,

For *London*, Major-General *Skippon*.

For *Westminster* and *Middlesex*, Col. *Barkstead*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*.

For *Kent* and *Surrey*, Col. *Kelsey*.

For *Sussex*, *Hampshire*, and *Berkshire*, Col. *Goff*.

For *Gloucestershire*, *Wiltshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Devonshire*, and *Cornwal*, General *Desborough*.

For *Oxfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Hertfordshire*, *Cambridgeshire*, *Isle of Ely*, *Essex*, *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, Lord-Deputy *Fleetwood*.

For *Lincolnshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Derbyshire*, *Warwickshire*, and *Leicestershire*, Commissary-General *Whalley*.

For *Northamptonshire*, *Bedfordshire*, *Rutlandshire*, and *Huntingdonshire*, Major *Butler*.

For *Worcestershire*, *Herefordshire*, *Salop*, and *North-Wales*, Col. *Berry*.

For *Monmouthshire* and *South-Wales*, Col. *Dawkins*.

For *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, and *Staffordshire*, Col. *Worsley*. And

For *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Westmoreland*, and *Northumberland*, Lord President *Lambert*.

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This new tyrannous Project of placing Majors-General in each County, was first set on Foot in the Month of *October* this Year; but they had not their Commissions to act by till the next Month; when Instructions were given to them to take Security of all who had been in Arms for the King, for their peaceable Demeanor and Obedience to the Protector, as well as to exact from them the Tenths aforementioned. In order to make this Proceeding go down more readily, *Cromwell* published a Declaration of the Justice and Necessity thereof, by way of Vindication of himself and his Council for acting these Violences against the Royal Party; which since it contains the whole History of the late Plot, and is no where else so much as mentioned, except a short Abstract of some of the Heads of it in *Lord Clarendon* °, we shall give at large, as printed by Authority this Year, without any Apology for the Length of it.

This Piece is intitled,

A DECLARATION of his HIGHNESS, by the Advice of his Council, shewing the Reasons of their Proceedings for securing the Peace of the Commonwealth, upon Occasion of the late Insurrection and Rebellion. °

A Declaration of
his Reasons for
so doing.

AFTER it had pleased God to give so clear a Decision of those Contests, which the well-affected People of this Nation, for many Years together, had with the late King and his Party, and those who, after him, espoused that Interest, and engaged upon the same Bottom; that the Adversaries were wholly vanquish'd, and both their Persons and Estates, through the gracious Dispensations of God, subjected to the Power of those whom they had designed to enslave and ruin, it was hoped that that visible Hand of God, which appeared against them in the War upon all Occasions, would have had suitable Impressions;

° *History*, Vol. VI. p. 57c.

Printed by *Henry Hills* and *John Field*, Printers to his Highness the Lord Protector.

ons; and been sufficient to convince them of the Error of their Way, and engaged them to desert it, with those Principles of Licentiousness and Profaneness, which the Heads and Leaders of that Party had long endeavoured to debauch the Nation with; and so obliged them not only to live peaceably under that Power which they were so eminently, by the Providence of God, brought under, by laying aside the Remembrance of former Differences, to endeavour, in their several Capacities, the carrying on and maintaining the Peace and Good of the whole; especially if they should see an End of their Troubles, and themselves put into such a Condition that they might not be liable to future Revenge for what was past; but might be free, both in their Estates and Persons, equally with other Men: And therefore as it was most evident, as well by their being admitted at first to compound for their Estates, as also in the Terms of their Composition, (which were so easy and moderate to the Generality, as that it led them to a better Condition of Support than generally befell the Parliament's Party, considering their many and large Payments to maintain a long and expenceful War) that the original Intention of those who had then the Conduct of Affairs, was not to extirpate these Men; with Designs of possessing their Estates and Fortunes; but, at first, only to defend their Liberties; and, after, to deprive them of those Arms wherewith they designed to enslave themselves and the whole Nation; leaving them in that Condition after they were overcome, as they might live in their former Qualities, enjoying their Estates and equal Protection with those whom they had endeavour'd to destroy. A Proceeding very extraordinary, if compared with that which other Nations, in all Ages, have endured after a like Disappointment by Civil War; who have held it for a Principle, That Settlement, after such Commotions, is obtain'd and conserv'd by a total Disabling the very Inclinations of those in Times of Peace,

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' whose Actions have been dangerous in War; and,
 ' in this Nation, in former Ages, Loss of Life and
 ' Confiscation, having been very usually the Con-
 ' sequences in the like Cases: We say; as the
 ' clear Intentions of the Parliament's Party were
 ' discovered and manifest in their first Proceedings
 ' with their Enemies, to wit, That they designed
 ' not their Ruin, but Reformation; so, after the
 ' Battle of *Worcester*, upon that memorable Day
 ' of the third of *September*, when the Hopes of the
 ' Enemy seemed to be wholly broken, having
 ' neither Forces in the Field, nor Garrison left in
 ' *England*; and *Scotland* which, untill then, might
 ' be some Ground of Confidence to them, and of
 ' Danger to us, so far subdued, that no considera-
 ' ble Enemy was left there; which also was the
 ' Condition of *Ireland*: When all Things were re-
 ' duced into that State and Condition, that as these
 ' Men could, in Reason, have but small or no
 ' Hopes of any Change of Affairs, or new Oppor-
 ' tunities to assert their old Cause; so had we, thro'
 ' the continued Assistance and Presence of God, no
 ' Ground to fear any new Attempts from them,
 ' that might oblige us to any base and unworthy
 ' Compliance with them; all Endeavours were used
 ' on this Side to lay Foundations of composing
 ' the Spirits, and uniting a broken and divided
 ' People through a Ten-years War. There was
 ' not only a punctual Performance of Articles of
 ' War, the like whereof no History can parallel,
 ' (a Court being purposely erected to do them Ju-
 ' stice in that Particular, and the Power thereof
 ' entrusted in such Hands, who, as was intended
 ' in their Choice, did execute it effectually on their
 ' Behalf) but an Act of Grace and Oblivion was
 ' granted to them; which Favour, as they could
 ' not have any Pretensions to claim, or indeed ex-
 ' pect, so neither could the Makers thereof have
 ' any other Motives or Arguments to induce them
 ' thereunto, but such as must proceed from the
 ' Desires they had to heal and cement, and to take
 ' away all Seeds of Difference and Separation, and

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‘ of putting what was past into Oblivion; by Means
‘ whereof the Hearts of the Nation, unhappily di-
‘ vided, might chearfully and affectionately meet
‘ in mutual Interest; on which might follow Peace,
‘ Settlement, and Reformation; and, consequent-
‘ ly, the Taxes and Burdens which have been long
‘ continued, might be safely taken from off the
‘ People.

‘ Upon these Grounds also was it, that so great
‘ Respect was had to this Sort of Men in the Set-
‘ tlement of the present Government, whereby
‘ they were admitted, after three Parliaments, to
‘ be elected to sit in the Supreme Councils of the
‘ Nation.

‘ It is true, indeed, some Opposition was made
‘ to that Lenity which was used towards this Par-
‘ ty, and more especially to the Act of Oblivion;
‘ many being of this Persuasion, That it would not
‘ work those good Effects as were designed and
‘ wished; but, on the contrary, that all this In-
‘ dulgence would be abused, and Opportunities
‘ given thereby of raising new Troubles, to the
‘ endangering of the Cause we had so long con-
‘ tended for; wherein yet the Parliament itself were
‘ of a different Judgment from them, conceiving
‘ it impossible that there should be any Sort of Men
‘ so devoid of Ingenuity and Candour, or so re-
‘ solved in their Way, that neither the Dispen-
‘ sations of God, nor Kindness of Men, could work
‘ upon them; however, it was thought, that in
‘ case they were mistaken, and that it should so
‘ fall out in Fact, and upon Experience, that those
‘ who were, by the mighty and out-stretched Hand
‘ of the Lord, brought into a Condition to ask Fa-
‘ vour, to solicit for the blotting out the Remem-
‘ brance of past Actions, and to be restored to the
‘ common Privileges of the Nation, which they
‘ had justly forfeited, should yet despise and reject
‘ it when it was offered, and retain their Enmity
‘ after that they had been forced from their Arms,
‘ it would then have this Effect at least, the leaving
‘ of such without Excuse, in whatsoever Ways of

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‘ Severity the State should be necessitated to proceed with them in for providing for, and securing the Peace of, the Nation, when Ways of Tenderneſs were by them render’d ineffectual to thoſe Ends: And we do acknowledge, unleſs the Carriage towards them had been ſuch as is before expreſs’d, we could not, with Comfort and Satisfaction to ourſelves, have uſed the Courſe we now ſee we are obliged to take againſt the Perſons and Eſtates of that Party, for ſecuring the Lives, Liberties, Peace, and Comfort of all the well-affected People of theſe three Nations.

‘ But it having pleaſed God, in his Providence, ſo to order Things, that there was not only Forbearance and Moderation uſed towards them, and Hopes given that they might enjoy their Freedom, and have equal Protection in their Perſons and Eſtates with the reſt of the Nation, but they might claim it as their Right, and as due unto them by the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Land, as well as any Perſon whatſoever who had been of this Side; there can be no other Conſtruction made of the Actings of that Party, to the Diſturbance of the public Peace, and to the Subverſion of the Government, but that they are implacable in their Malice and Revenge, and never to be drawn from their adhering to that curſed Intereſt, which hath been the Occaſion of the ſhedding of ſo much innocent Blood, and almoſt of the Ruin and Deſtruction of theſe Lands. And therefore we do not now only find ourſelf ſatisfied, but obliged in Duty, both towards God and this Nation, to proceed upon other Grounds than formerly, with thoſe who ſhall deſerve this Character; and the Articles of War, Act of Oblivion, and other Favours tendered, yea granted, to theſe Men, are ſo far from lying in our Way, or begetting Scruples in our Mind concerning the ſame, that our Hands are ſtrengthened from thence to this Work, and many Doubts removed thereby, which otherwiſe would have ſtuck with us, as we have before expreſs’d.

‘ It

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‘ It will not be denied, That as well the Articles
‘ of War, as the Favour and Grace granted by the
‘ Act of Oblivion, contained in them a Recipro-
‘ cation, as there did a real Benefit and Advantage
‘ accrue to the Grantees, so certainly was there a
‘ Good intended and designed by them to the State :
‘ If the State do not attain their End, neither ought
‘ the other to accomplish theirs. In such Acts as
‘ these are, either both are bound, or both are at
‘ Liberty, and in the same Condition as if no
‘ such Things had been done or acted : Certainly
‘ none have signed to Articles of War that are not
‘ conditional ; or when those who received those
‘ Articles resolved to break the Conditions, they
‘ had not then the Consent of those who gave them.
‘ Who did ever allow such Articles to Enemies,
‘ as might assist them to execute their Malice
‘ and Revenge ? If no Breach of Faith can make
‘ a Forfeiture of Articles, the Condition of those
‘ who receive them, is better than of him that gives
‘ them, because he submits himself to Surprise,
‘ after he hath endured the Hazard and Expence of
‘ open War.

‘ And as for the Act of Oblivion ; that must needs
‘ be meant as an Obligation upon the Enemy, and
‘ as a proper Means to take away the Enmity con-
‘ tracted by the War ; intending, by Mercy, to
‘ reform those who had opposed themselves to the
‘ public Welfare ; and this need not be expressed,
‘ it doth imply such a Condition in the Nature of
‘ it. All Pardons are granted with Clauses of good
‘ Behaviour, either explicit or implied ; because
‘ else whoever grants them, lets loose a Delin-
‘ quent to a future Offence ; and he that answers
‘ not the End and Consideration of the Pardon,
‘ cannot, in Reason, be said ever to accept it. The
‘ Parliament, by that Act, intended not only an
‘ Oblivion of the Offences of the aforesaid Party,
‘ whereby they had render’d themselves obnoxious,
‘ but that this Kindness should be answered with
‘ Obedience on their Part, and produce a real
‘ Change in their Principles and Interest, as to the
‘ com-

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' common Cause this great Contest had been about ;
 ' for, otherwise, this Act cannot be considered as
 ' obligatory to those who gave it: And, in this
 ' Case, Forbearance from outward Action will not
 ' avail, nor intitle to the Benefit of the Pardon, if
 ' yet there be Malice and Revenge in the Heart,
 ' and such a leaning and adhering to the old Interest,
 ' that nothing is wanting for the Discovery there-
 ' of, but a fitting Opportunity ; for as such Men
 ' cannot, in Justice and Ingenuity, claim the Be-
 ' nefit of an Act of Favour from that Supreme Ma-
 ' gistrate, to whom they know themselves to be
 ' Enemies ; so neither is that Magistrate bound,
 ' in Justice before God or Men, to give it to them,
 ' if he hath Reason to believe, from the Course of
 ' their Conversations, that they are such, and that
 ' their Intentions towards the Government, under
 ' which they live, are the same as when they were
 ' in open Arms against it ; and is at Liberty to car-
 ' ry himself towards them, as if no such Act had
 ' been. Nay, he may proceed against them with
 ' greater Severity, in as much as he hath used the
 ' last Means to reclaim them without Fruit ; and
 ' knows, by Experience, that nothing but the
 ' Sword will restrain them from Blood and Vio-
 ' lence.

' Then, if this be the Case between us and the
 ' late King's Party, to wit, That they have noto-
 ' riously manifested it to the Consciences of all
 ' Men, that they do not only retain their old Prin-
 ' ciples, and still adhere to their former Interest in
 ' direct Opposition to the Government established,
 ' but have been all along hatching new Disturban-
 ' ces ; and endeavouring, as well by secret and
 ' bloody Assassinations, as by open Force, to in-
 ' troduce the one, and overthrow and subvert
 ' the other: It will not be thought strange, upon
 ' any Account whatsoever, that we did lately
 ' secure so many of the Men of that Interest, al-
 ' though they were not visible in Arms upon the
 ' late Insurrection ; nor that we have laid a Bur-
 ' den upon some of their Estates, beyond what is
 ' im-

‘ imposed upon the rest of the Nation, towards the
 ‘ defraying of that Charge which they are the Oc-
 ‘ casion of; with some other Things which we
 ‘ have found necessary, in this Time of Danger,
 ‘ to direct concerning them, for the Peace and
 ‘ Safety of the whole.

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‘ Now, to evince this, tho’ the Walks of Con-
 ‘ spirators, who are a sly and secret Generation of
 ‘ Men, are ever in the Dark, and the Measure of
 ‘ all their Feet cannot be exactly taken and com-
 ‘ pared, yet many of their Steps having been dis-
 ‘ covered through the Goodness of the All-seeing
 ‘ God, we shall set down such Part thereof as may
 ‘ be of use to make public.

‘ We shall not particularly mention some under-
 ‘ hand and very secret Contrivances which they had,
 ‘ and made some Trial of, whereby they would
 ‘ have insensibly wound themselves into that Power,
 ‘ which they were not able to do by open Force;
 ‘ but that Way not taking, they then betook them-
 ‘ selves to Counsels of raising a new War, and de-
 ‘ signing a general Insurrection throughout the Na-
 ‘ tion.

‘ And, to ripen those Resolutions, some Per-
 ‘ sons were sent from hence to *Charles Stuart*, with
 ‘ Letters of Credit, and a considerable Sum of Mo-
 ‘ ney, the better to gain Belief, to give him Afflu-
 ‘ ence that the Reasons why the Nobility and
 ‘ Gentry, and Bulk of the Kingdom of *England*,
 ‘ which, they said, were Episcopal, and of his
 ‘ former Party, did not rise with him upon his late
 ‘ March from *Scotland*, was, because he was be-
 ‘ lieved to have gone upon Grounds disagreeable
 ‘ both to their Affections and Interests, and also
 ‘ to the Good of the Nation, and inconsistent with
 ‘ the antient Constitutions both of Church and
 ‘ State; but that if he would return to his former
 ‘ Principles, to wit, To cast himself totally upon
 ‘ his old Party, they would venture both their
 ‘ Lives and Fortunes for his Recovery.

‘ This being receiv’d with great Acceptance, and
 ‘ the

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‘ the Design resolved upon, the Management thereof was to be as followeth :

‘ A Council was chosen of a select Number, called by the Name of a *Sealed Knot*, who were, for the most Part, to reside in and about *London*, and to keep and maintain Correspondences with those of their Party beyond Sea, and within the several Parts of the Nation; and communicate the mutual Advices, Counsels, Orders, and Resolutions of each other, which were necessary for such an Undertaking. And there were three Things which were chiefly designed by them in this Business:

‘ 1. To prepare and engage every individual Man of their own Party, who had either been in the former Wars, or had been a Friend thereto, or was likely, by reason of his Alliance, Breeding, or Discontents, to engage therein; who, being engaged, were to bring all their Tenants, and those who depended upon them; and also to lay Designs for the possessing of Garisons and Strong-holds.

‘ 2. To raise a considerable Bank of Money to be employed for buying of Arms, defraying other Expences incident to the Management of such a Business, and for the Maintenance of Forces, as Occasion should be; and for this 100,000*l.* was propounded for *England* alone, besides what was to be had in *Wales*; for the raising whereof Privy Seals were to be sent to several Persons in *England*.

‘ 3. During the carrying on of this Affair *Charles Stuart* was to be maintained, and therefore a constant Contribution of Money was to be endeavoured from such of his Friends as were able; and this latter was so well prosecuted by those Agents which were employed therein, that he hath had many thousand Pounds a Year paid him from hence for these three Years past. The two other Things were to be carried on and managed by the said *Sealed Knot*, and such Agents as went between him and his Friends here.

‘ But

‘ But as previous hereunto, and to make their
 ‘ Work the more easy and uninterrupted, and the
 ‘ Design, they had thus engaged in, the more sure
 ‘ in the Execution, (which they could not in Reason
 ‘ but apprehend to have many Difficulties in it,
 ‘ whilst the Nation was in perfect Peace, and so
 ‘ much inclined to Settlement and Rest, as being
 ‘ weary of the former Commotions, that who so-
 ‘ ever should begin new Troubles upon any Pre-
 ‘ tences whatsoever, would be looked upon as a
 ‘ common Enemy; and might possibly find the Ge-
 ‘ nerality of the Nation so far from joining with
 ‘ them, that they might declare the contrary Way;
 ‘ as also, whilst the Army was in an united Posture,
 ‘ and under its antient Conduct, it would be difficult
 ‘ for them to rise, without being suppressed before
 ‘ they should be able to imbody in any such consi-
 ‘ derable Number as might give Countenance and
 ‘ Protection to such as should join themselves with
 ‘ them) they concluded some Things to be ef-
 ‘ fected, as preceding to, or at least contemporary
 ‘ with, the general Insurrection.

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‘ One was the Assassination of particular Per-
 ‘ sons, thereby to beget great Confusions and Con-
 ‘ test, and give Opportunity for all the King’s Party
 ‘ to rise. There was one *Fitz-James* went from
 ‘ hence to the late King’s eldest Son upon this Ac-
 ‘ count, then at *Paris*, and had a Sum of Money
 ‘ given him to promote that Attempt; but he, and
 ‘ *John Gerard* afterwards joined in that Design, the
 ‘ Particulars whereof have been heretofore publish-
 ‘ ed^a; whereto we shall only add what is since more
 ‘ fully come to our Knowledge, to make it mani-
 ‘ fest that it was not the heady and rash Resolution
 ‘ of *Gerard* himself, but that it was a Part of the
 ‘ Design laid by the pretended King, and of those
 ‘ who have the Conduct of his Affairs; that he
 ‘ himself spake to both *Fitz-James* and *Gerard*
 ‘ concerning it, and did not only approve thereof,
 ‘ but declared that he looked upon it as a most ne-
 ‘ cessary, if not the only, Means to set all his o-
 ‘ ther

^a See p. 294, in this Volume.

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‘ ther Designs on Motion. It is true, he refused
 ‘ to speak with Major *Henshaw*, who went to *Pa-*
 ‘ *ris* about the same Time, or a little before, con-
 ‘ cerning the Design, and conferred with Prince
 ‘ *Rupert* concerning it, by Means of one *Chockly*,
 ‘ a *Frenchman*; the Prince communicated it to
 ‘ *Charles Stuart*, who approved of the Undertak-
 ‘ ing, and resolved to speak with him therein; but
 ‘ Advertisement coming from *England* in the mean
 ‘ Time, that *Henshaw* was sent from hence and
 ‘ employed at *Paris* to abuse them there, he re-
 ‘ fused afterwards to see him; but relied on *Gerard*
 ‘ and *Fitz-James*, to whom he gave precise Di-
 ‘ rections, that they should not make their At-
 ‘ tempt till all his Friends were ready in *England*.
 ‘ There was also one *Boswel*, and also one *Pierce*,
 ‘ and several other Persons employed at other
 ‘ Times for those Assassinations, who had laid the
 ‘ Place and Manner of Execution, and the Means
 ‘ whereby to attempt it; all the Particulars where-
 ‘ of would be too large to set down, as it would
 ‘ the several gracious Providences of God in the
 ‘ disappointing of them.

‘ Another Part of their Design was to work up-
 ‘ on the several discontented Humours which they
 ‘ observed to be stirring in the Nation; employing
 ‘ fitting Instruments, who might, from a true Ob-
 ‘ servation of their Spirits and Principles, fall in
 ‘ with all Manner of discontented Parties; and, by
 ‘ proper Mediums, heighten and blow up their
 ‘ Discontents, and provoke them to a Rupture;
 ‘ laying this for their Maxim, *Divide et impera*;
 ‘ the more Parties they could make, the greater
 ‘ Confusions they could bring forth, the easier
 ‘ would their Work be: And, therefore, some they
 ‘ set up, who might abuse one Sort of Men, and
 ‘ draw them into Discontents upon Pretences of
 ‘ Liberty and the Rights of the freeborn People of
 ‘ *England*, which they supposed were infringed by
 ‘ keeping up an Army, and by inforcing Taxes
 ‘ from them, and by not calling a free and equal
 ‘ Representative, chosen by all the People; and,
 ‘ upon

‘ upon this Subject, there was scarce a Day but
 ‘ some Pamphlet or other came forth in Print,
 ‘ called *Declarations*, penn’d, printed, and publish’d
 ‘ by the King’s Party; some whereof are now in
 ‘ Prison, who appeared not in it themselves, but
 ‘ employed other Instruments. And they found
 ‘ *John Wildman*, and some others of the like Prin-
 ‘ ciples, most fitting Instruments for managing that
 ‘ Part, of crying for Liberty, as those who might
 ‘ do it, as they imagined, without the least Su-
 ‘ spicion of being thought to correspond therein
 ‘ with the old Enemy, or of having Intentions to
 ‘ promote his Cause and Interest. And therefore
 ‘ these were to carry on a Design, which should,
 ‘ in outward Appearance, be different from the o-
 ‘ ther, altho’ in Truth it came from the same Root,
 ‘ and was directed to the same End; and to this
 ‘ Purpose they had continual Meetings with such
 ‘ as they judged to be like themselves, and of the
 ‘ same Mind with them; and though they them-
 ‘ selves had turned their Backs upon that Profession
 ‘ of *Christ* and the Gospel, which they had once
 ‘ made, and were become loose in their Conversa-
 ‘ tion, and atheistical in their Principles; yet they
 ‘ found Means, by reason of their having been en-
 ‘ gaged on this Part, to insinuate into, communi-
 ‘ cate with, and deeply influence, some particular
 ‘ Persons, otherwise, as we hope, well minded,
 ‘ in Designs against the Government, partly upon
 ‘ Pretences of Liberty, and partly upon Supposi-
 ‘ tion of having a more pure Administration of
 ‘ Things; upon which Subject likewise many Pa-
 ‘ pers were printed and dispersed at the same Time,
 ‘ and many others were in Preparation.

‘ And *Wildman* had brought his Part to such
 ‘ Maturity, that he wanted very little but the open
 ‘ declaring himself in Arms; having, in Effect,
 ‘ finished the Declaration which was to be publish-
 ‘ ed upon that Occasion, as appears by the Decla-
 ‘ ration itselfⁿ; but it pleased God to prevent it by
 ‘ his

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ⁿ It bore this Title, *The Declaration of the free and well af-
 fected People of England, now in Arms against the Tyrant Oliver
 Cromwell, &c.*; and is printed at large in *William’s Memorials*,
 p. 620.

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‘ his sudden and unexpected Apprehension, with his
 ‘ Declaration before him, just as he was dictating
 ‘ to his Servant the Conclusion thereof; and the
 ‘ Time that he should have declared himself, did
 ‘ fully answer the Rising designed by the Royal
 ‘ Party, which fell out a few Days after.

‘ Another Thing which the Enemy had laid as
 ‘ necessary, at least to keep Company with their
 ‘ intended Insurrection, was, that Part of the Ar-
 ‘ my in *Scotland* should have mutinied, surprized
 ‘ their Generals, thrown off their Officers, and
 ‘ marched up to *London* under the Command of
 ‘ Major-General *Overton*^r, who was designed for
 ‘ that Purpose, leaving the rest of the Army there,
 ‘ already under great Discouragement, by reason
 ‘ of their late hard Service and for Want of Pay,
 ‘ to be devoured by the *Scots*; and also Forts and
 ‘ Garrisons, lately erected at the vast Charge of
 ‘ this Commonwealth, to be possessed by them;
 ‘ there being no Possibility left of sending them
 ‘ timely and seasonable Supplies, in such Times of
 ‘ Trouble as must necessarily ensue such Actings;
 ‘ and those who were made use of, to bring to pass,
 ‘ were the Levellers, and also some others, who did
 ‘ not, as we hope, intend to serve the Interest of
 ‘ *Charles*

^r In *Tburloe's State Papers*, (Vol. III. *passim*.) Mention is made of the several Persons, both Cavaliers and Levellers, apprehended on account of this Plot: There are also in that Collection Copies of Letters intercepted by General *Moncke* in *Scotland*; amongst those found in *Overton's* Pocket-Book, were the following Verses in his own Hand writing:

*A Protector, what's that? 'Tis a stately Thing,
 That confesseth itself but the Ape of a King:
 A tragical Cæsar acted by a Clown;
 Or a Brass Parthing stamp'd with a Kind of a Crown:
 A Bubble, that shines; a loud Cry without Wool;
 Not Perillus nor Phalaris, but the Bull.
 The Echo of Monarchy till it come;
 The Butt-end of a Barrel in the Shape of a Drum:
 A counterfeit Piece that woodenly shews
 A Golden Effigies with a Copper Nose.
 The fantastic Shadow of a Sovereign Head,
 The Arms Royal revers'd, and disloyal instead.
 In fine, he is one we may Protector call,
 From whom the King of Kings protect us all.*

In *Lord Clarendon* (Vol. VI. p. 551, *et seq.*) is a particular Account of the Grounds, Motives, and Consequences of this Insurrection of the King's Party.

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‘ *Charles Stuart*. But it is clear, that they were influenced and driven on by them, being made to believe by the Emiffaries of the pretended King, ‘ Wolves in Sheeps Clothing, that that Part of the ‘ Army defigned for the Revolt, would, under the ‘ Conduct aforefaid, do much for the carrying on ‘ their Bufinefs; not forefeeing that the Army, being thus divided and engaged againft itfelf, it may ‘ be even to Blood, would become a Prey to the ‘ Enemy, and yield up this glorious Caufe and the ‘ good People of this Land into their Hands.

‘ Thefe were fome of thofe Methods which our ‘ Enemies made ufe of to prepare their Way to ‘ their grand Defign; others they had of leffer ‘ Moment, which we fhall not fpend our Time in ‘ rehearfing; nor fhall we, in exprefs Terms, lay ‘ to their Charge the fwarming of thofe Jefuits ‘ which are now croaking amongst us, turning ‘ themfelves into all Forms and Shapes to deceive ‘ and feducer Men from the Truth, according as ‘ they find the Bents, Inclinations, and Principles ‘ of Men to be.

‘ It is not only commonly obferved, but there ‘ remains with us fomewhat in Proof, that Jefuits ‘ have been found amongst fome difcontented Parties of this Nation, who are obferved to quarrel ‘ and fall out with every Form of Adminiftration, ‘ either in Church or State; whether thefe Emiffaries of the Church of *Rome* are come hither ‘ by Counfel from *Charles Stuart*, we will not now ‘ examine; this is certain, as the continual ‘ Troubles and Unfettlement, occafioned by his ‘ Party here, opens the Door for the Entrance in ‘ of thofe unclean Spirits; fo his Agents make ‘ Ufe of them to advance one Part of his Work, ‘ to wit, the fomenting and maintaining of Parties ‘ and Faétions amongst us.

‘ And that they might the better know what ‘ Directions to give, and what Means they were to ‘ ufe from Time to Time for influencing the afore- ‘ faid Parties, and arriving at their Ends, thefe following Inftuctions were given, amongst other ‘ Things,

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‘ Things, to some of their Agents : They were
‘ to inform themselves,

1. ‘ What the present Strength of the Army in
‘ *England, Scotland, and Ireland* is ; by whom
‘ commanded ; who have the chief Interest in them,
‘ and how they and their Officers are affected ?

2. ‘ What are the principal Garrisons, especial-
‘ ly Ports ; how manned, and of what Strength ;
‘ and which are the easiest to be gain’d, either by
‘ Force or Treachery ?

3. ‘ What the present Strength is at Sea ; and
‘ how intended to be settled for the future ?

4. ‘ What the constant Revenues, and constant
‘ Expences of the Commonwealth are ; how much
‘ the one exceeds the other ; and, if the Expences
‘ be greater, by what Means the Overplus is sup-
‘ plied ?

5. ‘ What is the Condition of Trade, whether
‘ much decay’d ; and what Consequences that may
‘ draw ?

6. ‘ Whether the Protector be absolute in his
‘ Power, or forced to comply with others, who
‘ are his chiefest Friends or Enemies, and who
‘ have at present the greatest Power in *England* ;
‘ how the People and Army stand affected to the
‘ new Government and Person of the Protector ?

7. ‘ What Parties and Factions are now on
‘ Foot ; what their Strength, Principles, and Inclina-
‘ tions as to the present Government, or a Con-
‘ junction with the King ; and who are their chief
‘ Leaders ?

8. ‘ What be the present Designs of the Pro-
‘ tector and the Governing Party, as to War or
‘ Peace with foreign Nations ?

9. ‘ What is done in *England* or *Scotland* to-
‘ wards the Reduction of the King’s Party in the
‘ Highlands ?

‘ These Instructions do further shew what that
‘ Party was doing here amongst us.

‘ Whilst these Engines were at Work, the Ene-
‘ my doth all they can to ripen their Design of a
‘ general Rising ; and that all might be ready at
‘ once,

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‘ once, Agents to that Purpose are employed in
‘ the several Parts of the Nation, and every one’s
‘ particular Station appointed to them; some for
‘ the West, others for the North, others for the
‘ East, others for *Surrey, Kent, &c.* and others
‘ for *Wales*; their Work was to speak with such
‘ Persons as were likely to join with them, and, if
‘ they accepted, to acquaint them with what Re-
‘ solutions were taken for the carrying on the De-
‘ sign, and the Time for the Execution thereof,
‘ with what else related thereto.

‘ One chief Part thereof was upon the City of
‘ *London*; where great Endeavours were used to
‘ engage the Youth, Apprentices, and common
‘ Sort of Men, who might be able to raise Com-
‘ bustions, by firing the City or otherwise, thereby
‘ to prevent their appearing in Arms against them.

‘ Privy Seals were sent unto several Persons for
‘ raising of Money for managing this Work, and
‘ Treasurers appointed for receiving the same, and
‘ several very considerable Sums paid in, a Part
‘ whereof was discovered and seized upon.

‘ Great Quantities of Arms, and other Provi-
‘ sions of War, especially for Horsemen, were
‘ bought; many whereof were sent into the re-
‘ spective Counties, and lodged in the Hands of
‘ Persons engaged in this Design; some we seized
‘ upon in the Country, and some in their Maga-
‘ zine in *London*. Commissions were also sent in
‘ great Numbers from *Charles Stuart*, and deliver-
‘ ed to several of his Party, to raise Horse and
‘ Foot. Besides, they had been soliciting foreign
‘ Princes to give them Assistance of Men and Mo-
‘ ney to invade this Country; whom although they
‘ found not very forward in undertaking any such
‘ Enterprize, untill some Sea Town of Strength
‘ could be put into their Hands, yet they did pro-
‘ cure some Sums of Money from them; and were
‘ not without good Assurances of further Aid, both
‘ of Men and Money, when they could secure
‘ them a Place of Landing and Retreat.

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‘ Things being thus prepared, and a full Account thereof given to their pretended King, although he was very desirous to have come attended with some foreign Aids, yet, seeing his Party to be in so good a Readiness, he encouraged them to proceed to the Execution, and promised them to be in some convenient Place not far distant, at such Time as they should let him know the particular Day agreed upon by them for making their Attempt, to come over hither as he should find his Opportunity.

‘ The Letter he writ to his Party on this Occasion is as followeth :

July 16, 1654.

TOU will easily believe that I am very well pleased to hear how careful and solicitous you are for my Concernments, and of the Course you resolve to take. The Truth is, I have been so tender of my Friends, that I have deferred to call upon them to appear, till I could find myself able to give them good Encouragement from abroad ; but since I find that comes on so slowly, I will no longer restrain those Affections which I most desire to be beholden to ; and I have Reason to believe, that if they, who wish one and the same Thing, knew each other's Mind, the Work would be done without any Difficulty ; and if there were any handsome Appearance in any one Place, the rest would not sit still ; and I am persuaded I should then find Supplies from those who are yet afraid to offer them : However, I am sure, I would myself be with those who first wish'd for me ; and, to that Purpose, I will keep myself within a reasonable Distance.

Consult with those you dare trust, and, if you are ready, agree upon a Time, and you cannot promise yourselves any Thing you will be disappointed in, and which is in the Power of

Your affectionate Friend,

CHARLES R.

‘ After

‘ After the Receipt of this Letter, their Affairs
 ‘ grew apace unto Ripeness; and they found their
 ‘ Party so unanimously and universally resolved, and
 ‘ every Thing so agreeable to their Wishes, that
 ‘ (as several of the Persons acknowledged after-
 ‘ wards upon their Examinations) they thought it
 ‘ impossible for us, though they should fully ac-
 ‘ quaint us with the whole Contrivements, to pre-
 ‘ vent their Designs.

‘ And now, whereas some of them were of Opi-
 ‘ nion, that they should take in some Persons who
 ‘ had been for the Parliament, and were discon-
 ‘ tented, to make their Business the surer, it was
 ‘ denied by others of them upon this Reason, That
 ‘ seeing they had no Need of them, as their Af-
 ‘ fairs now stood, it would be prejudicial to his Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s Service and their common Interest, to take
 ‘ in Persons whom they should be afterwards trou-
 ‘ bled to get rid of; by which may be seen the
 ‘ Confidence they had of the Success of their Un-
 ‘ dertaking.

‘ As for the Time of executing what had been,
 ‘ in their Apprehension, thus surely laid, they va-
 ‘ ried their Counsels in that Particular, according
 ‘ as they found the Opportunities for the same to
 ‘ be more or less advantageous. They once resol-
 ‘ ved to take the Occasion of Horse-Races, which
 ‘ they had appointed in several Places for that Pur-
 ‘ pose; whither they and their Servants should
 ‘ have come well hors’d and arm’d, and so have
 ‘ declared themselves; but they were prevented
 ‘ therein by the Prohibition of Horse-Races.

‘ Another Time which was by them agreed up-
 ‘ on (although they were somewhat impatient of
 ‘ so long Stay) was at the Rising of the last Par-
 ‘ liament; for observing that a great Part of the
 ‘ Army was insisted upon, in Parliament, to be dis-
 ‘ banded; a Thing most desired by, as of most
 ‘ Use to, the Enemy, who concluded, That if the
 ‘ Army was down, nothing else could stand in their
 ‘ Way: And that we were not likely, in Reason,
 ‘ to consent thereto, in respect of the Knowledge

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‘ we had of their whole Design, several Per-
 ‘ sons being then apprehended as guilty of that
 ‘ Contrivance, and divers Arms seized on in the
 ‘ Hands of their Factors; they did hope by impro-
 ‘ ving that and several other Opportunities of
 ‘ Discontent, which might fall out during that
 ‘ Time, that the Parliament might rise with Dis-
 ‘ satisfaction, by the Means whereof their Design
 ‘ would be much advanced, and therefore got all
 ‘ Things in Readiness against such a Juncture of
 ‘ Affairs: But it having pleased God to make some
 ‘ farther notable Discovery to Us of this Conspira-
 ‘ cy, and of the particular Persons engaged therein;
 ‘ the seizing some of them, both here and in the
 ‘ several Counties, together with the bringing over
 ‘ 3000 Foot and 600 Horse out of *Ireland*, did
 ‘ prevent them at that Time; and in a great Mea-
 ‘ sure dishearten’d their Party to see many of them
 ‘ secured, who were relied upon for the Manage-
 ‘ ment of this Affair.

‘ But *Charles Stuart* having, according to his
 ‘ Promise, removed himself from *Cologne* into *Zea-*
 ‘ *land*, on purpose to attend this Rising, and to
 ‘ come hither in Person, so soon as he should un-
 ‘ derstand that it took Effect according to his De-
 ‘ sires; and the Lord *Wilmot*, Major General *Wag-*
 ‘ *staff*, *O’Neal*, and several others of that Party,
 ‘ being come actually over hither to conduct and
 ‘ lead the Design, and appointed to their several
 ‘ Posts in the Nation, they agreed to make their
 ‘ Attempt upon the 12th of *March*, 1654; which
 ‘ they did accordingly.

‘ And observing that the Body of the Army, espe-
 ‘ cially the Foot, lay about *London*, they designed
 ‘ to rise first in the West, *Wales*, the North, and
 ‘ other remote Parts of the Nation, hoping there-
 ‘ by to draw the Army, or a great Part of it, from
 ‘ hence; whereupon *Kent*, *Surrey*, and their Party
 ‘ in *London*, were to rise, and so make themselves
 ‘ not only Masters of the City, but form them into
 ‘ considerable Bodies. By the Persons they had
 ‘ engaged, they reckoned upon 8000 in the North,
 ‘ and

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‘ and not fewer out of the West; and the Number
‘ which should rise in these Parts, when the Army
‘ should have left it, to exceed both. The Gar-
‘ risons and strong Places they intended first to sur-
‘ prize and seize upon were *Portsmouth, Plymouth,*
‘ *York, Hull, Newcastle, Tinnmouth, Chester, Shrews-*
‘ *bury, Yarmouth, Lynn, and Boston*; as also to pos-
‘ sess themselves of the Isle of *Ely*. The Forces
‘ in the West were to have been commanded by
‘ the Duke of *York*; and those in the North, by
‘ the Lord *Wilmet*, whom they call the Earl of
‘ *Rocheſter*.^s

‘ What Issue it pleased the Lord to bring this
‘ great and general Design to, no Man is ignorant.

‘ The Insurrection in the West was bold and
‘ dangerous in itself; and had, in all Likelihood,
‘ increased to great Numbers of Horse and Foot by
‘ the Conjunction of others of their own Party, be-
‘ sides such foreign Forces as, in case of their Suc-
‘ cess, and seizing upon some Place of Strength,
‘ were to have landed in those Parts, had they not
‘ been prevented by the Motion of some Troops,
‘ and Diligence of the Officers in apprehending
‘ divers of that Party a few Days before; and also
‘ been closely pursued by some of our Forces; and,
‘ in the Conclusion, suppressed by a Handful of
‘ Men, through the great Goodness of God.

‘ That of *Derbyshire*, which the Enemy most re-
‘ lied upon, fell far short of their Expectation, in
‘ respect that our Forces, by their marching up and
‘ down in the Country, and some of them provi-
‘ dentially, at that Time, removing their Quar-
‘ ters near to the Place of Rendezvous, gave them
‘ no Opportunity to assemble, and therefore those
‘ of them, which came to the Rendezvous at *Higley-*
‘ *Moor*, under the Conduct of the Lord *Wilmet*,
‘ with an Intention to surprize *Lancaster* and to forni’d
‘ themselves into an Army, separated and run away
‘ in great Confusion and Disorder; as did also those

F f 3

‘ who

^s He was so created by King *Charles II.* at *Paris*, in 1654, upon
his being sent, on his Majesty's Behalf, to the Diet at *Ramstein*.

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‘ who were rendezvoused near *Morpeth* to surprize
 ‘ *Newcastle*; being, by the same Providence, dis-
 ‘ appointed, by the coming of 300 Foot from
 ‘ *Berwick*, ordered thither for the Security of that
 ‘ Place.

‘ Those in *North-Wales* and *Shropshire*, Part of
 ‘ which were designed to surprize and possess
 ‘ *Shrewsbury* Town and Castle; some of the chief
 ‘ Persons being discovered and apprehended, the
 ‘ rest fled.

‘ At *Rufford-Abbey*, in *Nottinghamshire*, was
 ‘ another Place appointed for a Rendezvous; where
 ‘ about 500 Horse met, and had with them in the
 ‘ Field a Cart-Load of Horse-Arms, to arm such
 ‘ as should come to them; but, upon a sudden, a
 ‘ great Fear fell upon them, insomuch that they
 ‘ left their Arms in the open Field, and every Man
 ‘ shifted for himself. There were other smaller
 ‘ Parties, as in the City of *Chester*, who design’d
 ‘ the Surprize of the Castle there, and also in *Staff-*
 ‘ *ordshire*, with divers other Places in the Nation;
 ‘ but they failing in their Expectations, were dis-
 ‘ couraged for that Time.

‘ And thus, by the Goodness of God, first dis-
 ‘ covering and bringing to Light these hidden
 ‘ Works of Darkness, and afterwards, in putting
 ‘ Fear into the Hearts of these Men, that their
 ‘ Hands could not execute what they had contriv’d,
 ‘ the greatest and most dangerous Design, not only
 ‘ for the involving us in Blood and Confusion here
 ‘ at home, but exposing of us unto the Will of Fo-
 ‘ reigners, hath been defeated and brought to no-
 ‘ thing; and this cruel and bloody Enemy put un-
 ‘ der as great and signal Disappointments as any
 ‘ Age can produce an Example of; it being a Thing
 ‘ they had set their Hearts upon, and was the Work
 ‘ of almost four Years Contrivement.

‘ And now all Men would have expected that,
 ‘ either through the Sense of God’s Hand a-new
 ‘ lifted up against them, or the other Discourage-
 ‘ ments they had met with in this their grand Un-
 ‘dertaking, they would have been weary of any
 ‘ further

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‘ further Attempts of this Kind, and have forsaken
‘ that Cause and Interest which hath brought so
‘ many of them to Ruin: But so little hath these
‘ Things wrought upon them, that some of them,
‘ when they ran away from their Rendezvous, did
‘ it with a Resolution to take a better Opportu-
‘ nity, when the Government, in Confidence of
‘ the present Success, should be secure and less
‘ aware of them; and they are at this very Day at
‘ work upon other Designs, both here and in *Scot-*
‘ *land*, and are endeavouring to procure Supplies
‘ of Men and Money from foreign States, to begin
‘ new Troubles and Rebellions amongst us; some
‘ Agents being sent from hence for that Purpose
‘ this last Summer.

‘ We shall not need to make any Application of
‘ what hath been said. It is plain to every one that
‘ is not blinded with Prejudice, that these Men are
‘ restless in their Designs, and are the Causes of
‘ all our Trouble and Unsettlement, and will leave
‘ no Stone unturned to render vain and fruitless all
‘ that Blood which hath been spilt to restore our
‘ Liberties; and the Hopes we have conceived of
‘ seeing this poor Nation settled and reformed from
‘ that Spirit of Profaneness which these Men do
‘ keep up and countenance, in Contempt of all
‘ Law and Authority; and therefore we thus ar-
‘ gued, that unless we would give up the Cause so
‘ long contended for, and the Lives, Liberties, and
‘ Comforts of all the Well-affected of these three
‘ Nations into their Hands, or leave them exposed
‘ to their continual Attempts, the Peace and
‘ common Concernments of this Commonwealth
‘ must be otherwise secured and provided for, than
‘ at present they were; that this was not to be
‘ done without raising additional Forces; that the
‘ Charge of those Forces ought not to be put upon
‘ the good People, who have borne the Heat and
‘ Burden of the Day; but upon those who have
‘ been, and are, the Occasion of all our Danger.

‘ Upon these Grounds we have been necessitated
‘ to erect a new and standing Militia of Horse in
‘ all

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‘ all the Counties of *England*, under such Pay as
 ‘ might be without Burden to the Peaceable and
 ‘ Well-affected, and be a fitting Encouragement to
 ‘ the Officers and Soldiers, that they might not go
 ‘ to War at their own Charge; and therefore we
 ‘ have thought fit to lay the Burden of maintaining
 ‘ of these Forces, and some other public Charges
 ‘ which are occasioned by them, upon those who
 ‘ have been engaged in the late Wars against the
 ‘ State, having Respect, notwithstanding, therein
 ‘ to such of them as are not able to undergo that
 ‘ Charge.

‘ It may perhaps be esteemed great Severity to
 ‘ tax the whole Party, when there hath been, in
 ‘ respect of the general Number, but few convicted
 ‘ by Trial, or detected by Testimonies, to have
 ‘ been in those Designs.

‘ It is true, the Proofs and Testimonies do not
 ‘ extend to charge every individual Man, which
 ‘ will fall under this Burden, with any explicit
 ‘ acting, contriving, or designing for the Disturb-
 ‘ ance of the Peace; if that had been the Case,
 ‘ their whole Estates, by the ordinary Proceedings
 ‘ of the Law had been confiscated: But we do ap-
 ‘ peal to all indifferent Men, who will weigh and
 ‘ consider the preceding Narrative, and the Con-
 ‘ texture, Frame, and Circumstances of this De-
 ‘ sign, whether the Party were not generally in-
 ‘ volved in this Business; and, in Reason, to be
 ‘ charged with it.

‘ It is certain here was the Cause and Quarrel of
 ‘ the pretended King once more brought upon the
 ‘ Stage by his Followers; who, for that Purpose,
 ‘ was come into the *Low-Countries*, ready to em-
 ‘ bark for *England*, upon the first Notice of Suc-
 ‘ cess; which no Man will believe he would have
 ‘ put himself upon, in the Eye and Face of the
 ‘ World, if those who shewed themselves in Arms
 ‘ were to have no other Seconds than what appear-
 ‘ ed; nor will it be imagined, that those of his
 ‘ Party who came over hither upon that Errand, as
 ‘ the Lord *Willmot* and *Wagstaff*, and others, would
 ‘ have

‘ have run so great Hazard upon so weak Grounds ;
 ‘ or that those Gentlemen, who did actually rise,
 ‘ could suppose that the Army then in being would
 ‘ be so easily over-run with much more consider-
 ‘ able Forces than were visible ; neither can it be
 ‘ presumed, that the Persons, chiefly relied upon for
 ‘ the Conduct and Management of this Affair, and
 ‘ who doubtless want no Credit with that Party,
 ‘ would have entered into this Engagement alone.

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‘ Great Sums of Money were collected and sent
 ‘ over to the pretended King, and furnished also
 ‘ for this Design ; which we cannot think came out
 ‘ of a few Hands.

‘ At this Time this Party were observed to be
 ‘ together, to keep their Meetings apart from
 ‘ others, to withdraw themselves in their ordinary
 ‘ Conversation, and to carry it with a more than
 ‘ usual Confidence against the Well-affected of the
 ‘ Nation, as Men under great Hopes of a sudden
 ‘ Change ; which many of them did not forbear to
 ‘ make their Boasts of.

‘ The Time when this Attempt was made, is
 ‘ likewise observzble : It was when nothing but a
 ‘ well-form’d Power could hope to put us into Dis-
 ‘ order ; *Scotland* and *Ireland* being perfectly re-
 ‘ duced ; Differences with most Neighbour Na-
 ‘ tions compos’d ; our Forces both by Sea and
 ‘ Land in Order and Consistency ; the first Bud-
 ‘ ding of these Imbroilments seasonably detected,
 ‘ and many of the engaged Persons apprehended ;
 ‘ Notice given of the ensuing Danger to the whole
 ‘ Nation ; Forces then drawn from *Scotland* and
 ‘ *Ireland*, for the Disanimation of these Contrivan-
 ‘ ces ; and yet, after all this, the wakeful Eye of
 ‘ an Army, of whose Virtue there had been some
 ‘ Proof in Times past, could by no Means discour-
 ‘ rage them from proceeding in this Attempt, nor
 ‘ frustrate this Rising in several Parts of the Nation
 ‘ at one and the same Time : Those Things alone
 ‘ are enough to satisfy that these Troubles were
 ‘ the Fruit of great Deliberation and Consent, and
 ‘ that they fell not out by Chance, or as the rash
 ‘ Un-

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‘ Undertakings of some few inconsiderable Persons:
 ‘ But we need not spend Time upon this Subject,
 ‘ believing that every one doth readily concur with
 ‘ us, that this Design was general, and levelled
 ‘ against all those who had, upon any Account
 ‘ whatsoever, adhered to and owned this Cause.

‘ This then being the Case, we have, in our
 ‘ own Judgment, such clear and convincing
 ‘ Grounds to justify our Proceedings with those
 ‘ Men which could scarcely be expected in Cases
 ‘ of secret Treasons and Conspiracies, a bare Cor-
 ‘ respondency wherein hath been always accounted
 ‘ Capital: And if the Supreme Magistrate were in
 ‘ these Cases tied up to the ordinary Rules, and
 ‘ had not a Liberty to proceed, upon Illustrations
 ‘ of Reason, against those who are continually sus-
 ‘ pected, there would be wanting, in such a State,
 ‘ the Means of common Safety; Conspiracies could
 ‘ never be prevented, nor would the Precipitations
 ‘ of our Enemies, from one mischievous Design
 ‘ to another, ever hurt them.

‘ Besides, admit that some of that Party were as
 ‘ innocent, as they would now have it believed
 ‘ they were, enough hath been done by their Fel-
 ‘ lows in a common Cause (which hardly any of
 ‘ them know how to disown, which they love,
 ‘ and of which they glory) to draw the whole
 ‘ Party under a just Suspicion, and the Conse-
 ‘ quences thereof. All that are peaceably-minded
 ‘ in the Nation are ready to say, These are the
 ‘ Men of whom we go in Danger; and certainly
 ‘ it is both just and necessary that all those, of
 ‘ whom the People have Reason to be afraid, (not
 ‘ only as their profess’d Enemies, but also nume-
 ‘ rous) should pay for securing the State against
 ‘ that Danger which they are the Authors of.

‘ And former Times have held this Way of
 ‘ Proceeding just and reasonable, of which we
 ‘ could give many pregnant Instances, as well in
 ‘ this as in other Nations, some of which were
 ‘ done in the Memory of several Persons now li-
 ‘ ving: And the Reasons why States may proceed
 ‘ in

‘ in this Manner, is, because that which is intend-
 ‘ ed to be exemplary, for the terrifying Men from
 ‘ such Attempts for the future, will not otherways
 ‘ be proportionable to the Danger of the past Of-
 ‘ fence; and so the public Power can never be se-
 ‘ cure, whose Safety is the People’s, but will be
 ‘ always exposed to the same Mischief and Ha-
 ‘ zards.

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‘ It is a Trouble to us to be still rubbing upon
 ‘ the old Sore, disobliging those whom we hoped
 ‘ Time and Patience might make Friends; but
 ‘ we can, with Comfort, appeal to God, and dare
 ‘ also to their own Consciences, whether this Way
 ‘ of proceeding with them hath been the Matter
 ‘ of our Choice, or that which we have sought an
 ‘ Occasion for; or whether, contrary to our own
 ‘ Inclinations, and the constant Course of our Car-
 ‘ riage towards them (which hath been to oblige
 ‘ them by Kindness to forsake their former Prin-
 ‘ ciples, which God hath so often and so eminently
 ‘ born witness against) we have not been constrain-
 ‘ ed and necessitated hereunto; and, without the
 ‘ doing whereof, we should have been wanting to
 ‘ our Duty to God and these Nations.

‘ That Character of Difference between them
 ‘ and the rest of the People, which is now put up-
 ‘ on them, is occasioned by themselves, not by us;
 ‘ there is nothing they have more industriously la-
 ‘ boured in than this, To keep themselves separated
 ‘ and distinguish’d from the well-affected of this
 ‘ Nation; to which End they have kept their Con-
 ‘ versation a-part, as if they would avoid the very
 ‘ Beginning of Union; have bred and educated
 ‘ their Children by the sequestred and ejected Cler-
 ‘ gy, and very much confined their Marriages and
 ‘ Alliances within their own Party, as if they
 ‘ meant to entail their Quarrel, and prevent the
 ‘ Means to reconcile Posterity; which, with the
 ‘ great Pains they take upon all Occasions to lessen
 ‘ and suppress the Esteem and Honour of the *Eng-*
 ‘ *lish* Nation, in all their Actions and Undertakings
 ‘ abroad, striving withal to make other Nations
 ‘ distinguish

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' distinguish their Interest from it, gives us ground
 ' to judge that they have separated themselves from
 ' the Body of the Nation: And, therefore, we leave
 ' it to all Mankind to judge, whether we ought not
 ' to be timely jealous of that Separation, and to
 ' proceed so against them, as they may be at the
 ' Charge of those Remedies which are required a-
 ' gainst the Dangers they have bred.

' But if there be yet any Person that hath been
 ' of that Party, who will be exempted from this
 ' Confederacy, and the Inconveniences depending
 ' thereupon, that can say, in Truth, he hath changed
 ' his Interest, was wholly free from the aforesaid
 ' Design, and shew, by good Works preceding
 ' the late Insurrection, a Disclaimer of his former
 ' Course and Conversation, (the surest Characters
 ' in this Case, of a Person satisfied with the Trou-
 ' bles of the Time past, and meaning for the future
 ' to live quietly) upon making it appear, he shall
 ' be dealt with according to his Integrity; or if a-
 ' ny of that Party, being yet sensible of the Error
 ' of their Way, shall change and forsake their for-
 ' mer Interest, and give real Demonstrations there-
 ' of, we shall much more esteem of their Refor-
 ' mation, than desire their Harm or Prejudice. In
 ' the mean Time, we do assure ourselves, that the
 ' Good and well-affected of the Land, for whose
 ' Sake we have chiefly published these Things,
 ' that they may know the Grounds on which we
 ' do proceed towards their Preservation, will re-
 ' ceive Encouragement hereby; and enjoy, with
 ' Love and Unity amongst themselves, the Fruits
 ' and Effects of that common Interest which they
 ' have long pursued; and not suffer themselves to
 ' be divided, by any Artifices whatsoever, into Par-
 ' ties and Factions one against the other, whereof
 ' the Enemy hath made great Advantages, to keep
 ' us from that Settlement and Reformation, which
 ' every good Man longs for, and the Want whereof
 ' doth greatly provoke the Lord against us.

HENRY SCOBELL,
Clerk of the Council.

Lord

Lord *Clarendon* informs us^m, ‘ That the foregoing Declaration was sent to the King, then at *Cologne*, where his Majesty caused an Answer to be made to it upon the Grounds that were laid down in it, and as if it were done by one who had been always of the Parliament’s Side, and who was well pleased to see the Cavaliers reduced to that Extremity; but with such Reflections upon the Tyranny that was exercised over the Kingdom by *Cromwell*’s Major-Generals, and upon the Foulness of the Breach of Trust the Protector was guilty of, that it obliged all the Nation to look upon him as a detestable Enemy, who was to be removed by any Way that offer’d itself.’

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Which was answered by the King’s Order.

In order to exhibit as compleat a View as possibly we can, of the Unconstitutional Powers these Major-Generals were invested with by *Cromwell* and his Council, we shall give an Abstract of their Instructions and Orders, as published by Authorityⁿ. Hereby they were authorized,

1. ‘ To endeavour the suppressing all Tumults, Insurrections, Rebellion, or other unlawful Assemblies, within their respective Provinces, as also all Invasions from abroad; and to that Purpose to draw together their Forces or Troops^o, and march to such Places as they should judge convenient, in *England* and *Wales*.

The Instructions given to *Cromwell*’s Major-Generals;

2. ‘ To take Care and give Order, That all Papists, and others who had been in Arms against the

^m *History*, Vol. VI. p. 572.

ⁿ *Mercurius Politicus*, N^o. 288, 89, 90.—*Public Intelligencer*, N^o. 13.—*Nouvelles Ordinaires des Londres*, N^o. 292, 3.

^o These Forces consisted of Horse and Foot, who were to have a certain Salary constantly paid, and not to be called upon to serve but upon emergent Occasions, and then to attend so many Days at their own Charge; and, if they staid longer, they were to be under the same Pay with the Army; but independent upon the Officers thereof, and only to obey their Major-General. A Horseman had eight Pounds a-year, for which he was to be ready with his Horse, if he was call’d upon; if he was not, he might attend his own Affairs. By this Means *Cromwell* had a second Army in View, powerful enough to controule the first, if they at any Time deserv’d to be suspected. *Clarendon*, Vol. VI. p. 585.

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the Parliament, or assisted the late King or his Son in the late Wars, as also all others who were dangerous to the Peace of the Nation, might be disarmed, and their Arms secured in some adjacent Garrisons, or otherwise disposed of, for the public Service.

3. ' To the end that the Highways and Roads might be more safe for Travellers, and the many Robberies and Burglaries, daily committed, prevented, these Major-Generals, their Captains and Officers, were to use their best Endeavours to find out all Thieves, Robbers, Highway-Men, and other dangerous Persons, and the Houses and Places which they frequented and usually lodged in ; and to take Course for apprehending and prosecuting them and their Receivers, agreeable to Law : And to appoint a Reward, not exceeding ten Pounds, to such Person as should discover and apprehend any Thief, Highway-Man, or Robber, to be paid after the Conviction of the Party so discovered and apprehended, which the Sheriff for the Time being was to pay, and which should be allowed to him in his Account.

4. ' To have a strict Eye upon the Conversation and Carriage of all disaffected Persons ; and give the like Direction to all their Captains and Officers at their Meetings : As also that no Horse-Races, Cock-Fightings, Bear-Batings, Stage-Plays, or any unlawful Assemblies, be permitted within their respective Provinces ; forasmuch as Treason and Rebellion is usually hatched and contrived against the State upon such Occasions, and much Evil and Wickedness committed.

5. ' To inform themselves of all idle and loose People who had no visible Way of Livelihood, nor Calling, or Employment ; and to consider by what Means they might be compelled to work, or be sent out of the Commonwealth : As also how the Poor might be employed, and better provided for ; and to certify the same to the Lord-Proteſtor and his Council, for further Direction thereupon : And, in the mean Time, to endeavour that the
Laws,

Laws, in such Cases, be put in effectual Execution. Inter-regnum.
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6. ' In their constant Carriage and Conversation, to promote Godliness and Virtue, and discourage Profaneness and Ungodliness; and to endeavour, with the Justices of the Peace, Ministers, and Officers intrusted with the Care of those Things, that the Laws against Drunkenness, Blasphemy, and taking the Name of God in vain, by swearing and cursing, Plays and Interludes, and profaning the Lord's Day, and such like Wickedness and Abominations, be put in effectual Execution.

7. ' To take an exact Account what Proceedings had been upon the Ordinance for ejecting of ignorant, insufficient, and scandalous Ministers and Schoolmasters; and to take Care that the same be effectually put in Execution; and, from Time to Time, to give an Account to the Lord Protector and his Council.

8. ' Every Master of a Family or Householder, or other Person within the Qualifications aforesaid, having menial Servants, was required to give Security by his own Bond, in such Sum as the Major-Generals respectively, within their Charges, should think fit, that their said menial Servants should well and peaceably behave themselves towards his Highness the Lord-Protector, and his Successors, Lord-Protectors of the Commonwealth, and towards all the good People of the same, while he should continue in that Service; and, during that Time, was duly to make his personal Appearance before the Major-General, or his Deputy, or such Person as they should appoint, at such Time and Place, and as often as they should direct, on Notice left at his Master's House.

9. ' Every Major General, and his Deputy, was to keep a perfect List of all Persons within their respective Charges, who gave such Security; and, from Time to Time, return the same to the Register, together with their Quality and Places of Abode.

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10. ' An Office of Registry was appointed to be set up in *London*, to whom the several Major-Generals, or their Deputies, were to return such Lists, to be forthwith enter'd alphabetically into a Register to be kept for that Purpose; and, as often as any Person, who had given such Security, should make his personal Appearance at that Office, the Register was to enter the Name of that Person, together with the Place whence he came, and the Parish, Street, and House where he intended to lodge during his Abode in *London* or *Westminster*, or the Suburbs thereof, and the Place to which he should remove, as often as he chang'd the same during his Abode there: And upon Notice that such Person intended to remove into the Country, then the Register was to signify to the Major-General of that County, or to his Deputy, the Name of such Person, together with the Place of his former Abode, and how long he had been in *London*, and to what Place he was removed; and in case the said Register should find, upon the personal Appearance of such Person, and the giving in his Name, and the Place from whence he came, that there was no Person of that Name returned to him in the List from the Major-General of that Association, then the said Register was to give Notice to the Secretary of State of such Person and his Lodging.

11. ' Every Person, whether Foreigner or other, who should, after the first Day of *December*, 1655, come from beyond the Seas to land in any Port or Place of the Commonwealth, was required, within twenty-four Hours after such landing, personally to appear before such Person as the Major-General for the Time being, or his Deputy, within their respective Charges, should appoint in such Port; and deliver in his Name, together with the Place from whence he came, and the Place whither he intended to go, to be enter'd in a Book kept for that Purpose; and also give an Engagement, that in case he should come to *London* or *West-*

Westminster, that he would, within twenty-four Hours after his Arrival, make his personal Appearance before the Register aforesaid, or his Deputy, and deliver unto him his true Name, and of the Place whence he came, and of the Parish, Street, and House where he should lodge, and of his Business; and, if he was a Foreigner, then of his Correspondents there. And in case such Person had been in Arms, or assisting in the late War against the Commonwealth, or had before that Time been banish'd, then, upon the Change of his Lodging, or other Removal, he was to give the like Notice: And in case any Person aforesaid should fail in what was hereby required of him, or assume to himself any false or counterfeit Name, or not lodge at the Place he assign'd, he was to suffer Imprisonment during the Pleasure of his Highness or his Council. And to the end no Person might be ignorant of the Danger of a Failure herein, the Person so engaging was, at the Time of entering into such Engagement, to be acquainted with this Order; a Copy whereof was to be set up in the Custom-house, in every Port of the Commonwealth.

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12. ' The Person appointed to take the said Entry and Engagment, was, from Time to Time, to return to the Register the Names of all Persons so coming from beyond the Seas, who was to enter them in a Book by itself, and also the Appearance of every such Person, when it should happen, together with the Place where he intended to lodge, during his Abode in or about *London*; and if he came not to *London*, then the Person so taking such Entry, was to signify the same to the Major-General, within whose Charge the Place, to which such Person should intend to go, did lye.

13. ' As often as any Inhabitant of *London* or *Westminster*, who had given Security as aforesaid, should intend to remove his Habitation or change his Place of Abode, such Person, before his Removal, was to give Notice thereof, in his own Person, to the Register or his Deputy, who was thereupon to enter his Name, together with the Places whence

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and whither he was to remove; and, by the next Post, to signify the same to the Major-General within whose Charge the County lay whither such Person intended to remove.

14. ' For the better Ease of Persons obliged to make such Appearance and Entry as aforesaid, the said Register had Power to appoint several Deputies, to reside in several Places of *London* and *Westminster*, who were, from Time to Time, to transmit the same to the chief Office of the Registry, to the end that one perfect Register might be there kept of the whole.

15. ' Where any Robbery, Murder, or other notorious Breach of the Peace, was at any Time committed, the Actors whereof remain'd concealed, the Persons prosecuting might apply themselves to the Major-General, or his Deputy; who, upon Notice thereof, had Power, as well by summoning all Persons who liv'd dissolutely or without a Calling, or at a higher Rate having no visible Estate answerable thereunto, and had given Bond as aforesaid, if he should see Cause, as by the Diligence of all Civil Officers, and other Persons, under his Command, according to their respective Duties, in apprehending all suspected Persons who pass'd through, or lay lurking within any Places under his Charge, to endeavour the finding out, and apprehending the Offenders; and if he should see Cause, upon Request of the Parties prosecuting, to send Notice thereof to one of the Major-Generals, or their Deputies, of the neighbouring Association, who were to do the like, for the better Discovery and Apprehension of the Offenders.

16. ' A more than ordinary Regard was to be had to the securing of the Roads, chiefly about *London*.

17. ' No House standing alone, and out of a Town, was to be permitted to sell Ale, Beer, or Wine, or give Entertainment; but such Licenses to be called in, and suppressed.

18. ' No

18. ' No Person to be permitted to ride Post without a special Warrant, nor any Horses laid to convey Passengers, without Notice thereof first given to the next Justice of the Peace to the Place where such Horses should be so laid, and of the Persons for whose Use: Whatsoever Inn, Ale-house, or Tavern, permitted Horses to be so laid, and did not discover the same before the Person made use thereof, was to forfeit their Licence. and be suppressed, and not have any Licence regranted.

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19. ' For the effecting more particularly a Reformation in *London* and *Westminster*, all Gaming-Houses, and Houses of evil Fame, were to be industriously sought out, and suppressed within those Cities, and the Liberties thereof.

20. ' All House-Keepers within the same, who had no Trade or Calling, or did not labour in such Trade or Calling, or had no other visible Estate, but were observed generally to lodge and harbour loose and dissolute Persons, were to be bound to their good Behaviour, and compelled to work; and, for want of Security, to be sent to *Bridewell*.

21. ' All Ale houses, Taverns, and Victualling-houses, towards the Skirts of the said Cities, were to be suppressed, except such as were necessary to lodge Travellers; the Number of Ale houses, in all other Parts of the Town, to be abated, and none continued but such as could lodge Strangers, and were of good Repute.

Thus much for the Instructions and Orders given to these Major-Generals:—We shall next endeavour to point out what Use they made of their exorbitant Commissions, and the oppressive Consequences thereof to the Subject.

It appears from the general Tenor of the Contemporary Writers ' That these Major-Generals

G g 2 carried

¹ *The perfect Politician, or a full View of the Life and Actions of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 287. — *The true Portraiture of His Royal Highness, Oliver Lord-Protektor, with a short View of His Government*, p. 27. — *Thurlow*, Vol. IV. p. 117, 344. — *Cowley's* Vol. VI. p. 585. — *Ludlow*, Vol. II. p. 559. — *Clarendon*; c.

Account of their
Conduct.

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carried Things with unheard of Insolence in their several Precincts, decimating to Extremity whom they pleased, and interrupting the Proceedings at Law upon Petitions of those who pretended themselves aggrieved; threatening such as would not yeild a ready Submission to their Orders, with Transportation to the Plantations in the *West-Indies*; and suffering none to escape their Persecution, but those that would betray their own Party, by discovering the Persons that had acted with them and for them.'

In pursuance of the 10th Article of the Instructions before-recited, a Major-General's Office was opened in *Fleet-Street*, where the Recognizances of all suspected Persons, and all the Dependences and Concerns thereof were recorded; by which Means *Cromwell* intended to inform himself of the Value and Quality of every Estate and Person, together with the Number of Cavaliers in each County throughout the Kingdom. Most of the Royalists, formerly secured, were hereupon set at Liberty; but by the Proclamation before-mentioned, requiring them to leave *London* within six Days after Publication thereof, they were driven into the Country within the Bounds of the several Major-Generals, who presently took Cognizance of them, and summoned them to their respective Residences: These Officers sat sometimes without, other Times with, the old Committees, where they received Accounts of Lands and Estates, which were rated to the tenth Penny yearly; but some Persons bought off that Tax by a present Sum at three Years Purchase.

These Major-Generals also committed to Prison whomsoever they thought fit to suspect; took Care to levy all Monies appointed by the Protector and his Council to be collected for the Public Use; sequester'd all who did not pay their Deci-

mation,

the Life, Death, and Burial of Oliver Cromwell, p. 165.—*Heard's Chronicle of the Civil War*, p. 378.—*Hobbes's History of the Civil Wars* p. 262.—*Dugdale's View of the late Troubles*, r. 450.—Some of these Writers make the Number of the Major-Generals only 11, June 14; but their Number was 12, as before-recited.

mation, or such other Payments as they were made liable to; nor was there any Appeal from any of their Acts but to the Protector himself.—In short; as there was scarce any Thing they might not do, in consequence of the arbitrary Powers they were possess'd of, so there was hardly any Thing they did not do; and they made such an ill Use of their Authority, and *Cromwell* himself began to be so jealous of these petty Monarchs of his own raising, that their Commissions were revoked soon after the Meeting of the next Parliament. But

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Before we enter upon the Proceedings of that Assembly we shall take Notice of such Proclamations and Ordinances, not already given in their Order of Time, as were pass'd by the Lord-Pro-
Ordinances pass-
ed by *Cromwell*
and his Council,
since the Dissolu-
tion of the last
Parliament.
 tector and his Council since the Dissolution of the last Parliament in *January*, 1654: And in these we shall be the more particular, as there is not the least Mention of them in *Scobell's Collections*: An Omission we can nowise account for, because all the Ordinances pass'd by *Cromwell*, between the Resignation of his first Parliament and the Assembling of his second, are duly entered there. This Deficiency we shall endeavour to supply from the original Edition of each, printed by his Highness's Printer at the Time of passing them. The most remarkable were these,

A Proclamation, which was issued some little Time before the Assizes, whereby the Judges were particularly enjoin'd to give Directions in their respective Circuits, for a speedy and due Execution of the Laws made for suppressing and preventing Drunkenness, profane Swearing and Cursing, Adultery and Fornication; also for observing the Assize of Bread, Ale, and Fuel, and touching Weights and Measures; for setting the Poor on Work, and providing for such as, by Age or Impotency, were not able to maintain themselves; for the Punishment of Rogues, Vagabonds, and sturdy Beggars; for taking the Accounts of Church-wardens and Overseers of the Poor; and against disturbance of public Preachers and the Promotion of the

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Day. Another Proclamation, expressly prohibiting the Admission of all Delinquents to any Office of Trust or Authority in the Commonwealth, or voting at any public Election. And a third, against the Increase of new Buildings in the Suburbs of *London*.

An Ordinance *For better regulating and limiting the Jurisdiction of the High Court of Chancery*: But this being printed at large in Mr. *Whitlocke's Memorials*, with his Objections thereto, it may be sufficient for us to observe, That he and his Colleague, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, look'd upon the Rules therein prescribed as so inconsistent with their Oaths as Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, that they refused to put the Ordinance in Execution; whereupon *Cromwell* obliged them to surrender their Commissions.

Another *For appointing a Council of Commerce*; by which *Cromwell's* eldest Son *Richard*, the Commissioners of the Great Seal, all the Members of the Council, the Judges, several Serjeants at Law, Aldermen of *London, York, Bristol, Newcastle, Lynn, Yarmouth, Dover, Southampton, and Exeter*, or an seven or more of them, were authorized to take into Consideration all Ways and Means for advancing, encouraging, and regulating the Trade and Navigation of the Commonwealth; to which Purpose they were empowered to receive such Propositions as should be made to them; and to send for the Officers of the Excise, the Customs, and the Mint, or such other Persons whom they should deem capable of giving Advice upon this Subject: They were to examine the Books and Papers of the late Council of Commerce, and all other public Papers which might afford them necessary Information; and were also authorized to appoint a Secretary and other Officers, with proper Salaries. Whatever Proposals were laid before these Commissioners, which they judged to be for the Advancement of Trade and Commerce, were to be certified to the Lord-Protector and his Council, who were to give the necessary Orders therein.

For

For appointing Commissioners for charitable Uses. These Commissioners were hereby authorized to redress the Abuses committed in the Administration of Lands, Goods, or Money, formerly given by Kings or Queens of *England*, and by any Bodies Corporate, or other well-disposed Persons, for the Relief of the aged and impotent Poor; sick or maim'd Soldiers and Mariners; for the Maintenance of public Schools, and Scholars in the Universities; for the Reparation of Churches, Bridges, Ports, Havens, Sea-Banks and Highways; for the Education and Preferment of Orphans; for the Marriage of poor Damsels; for erecting Houses of Correction; for the Assistance and Encouragement of young Tradesmen and Artificers; for Relief of decay'd Persons; the Reception of Prisoners; the Redemption of Captives; and other pious or public Uses: By this Ordinance it was enacted, That all Persons aggrieved in any of the aforesaid Particulars, by the Fraud or Violence of another, how great or rich soever, might prefer their Complaints to the said Commissioners, who were required to give immediate Redress against the respective Oppressors, or their Heirs, without having any Thing to fear, either in present or in future, from the Power or Greatness of their Adversaries. And this Ordinance was required to be read in all Churches, for the public Information of the Subject.

For securing the Peace of the Commonwealth. Hereby all Persons who had been sequester'd for Delinquency, or borne Arms on Behalf of the late King or his Son, against the Parliament, or adher'd to, favour'd, or supported, any of the Royal Army, were disabled to buy, use, or keep in their Houses or elsewhere, any Arms whatsoever, offensive or defensive, on Pain of the Loss thereof, and to be treated in such Manner as the Lord-Protector and his Council should direct. They were also disabled from entertaining in their Houses, either as Chaplains, Schoolmasters, or as private Tutors, any sequester'd Clergyman, Schoolmaster, or University

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versity Scholar : No Person sequester'd, or ejected for Delinquency or Scandal, was to be permitted to teach a School, or to preach in any public or private Assembly, except in their own Family ; nor baptize or administer the Lord's Supper, marry any Person, or use the Common Prayer, upon Pain of being proceeded against as Contemnors of the Authority of the Lord-Protector and his Council. And this Ordinance was directed to be proclaimed throughout every City and Market-Town in *England*, that none might pretend Ignorance thereof.

For appointing Commissioners to put in Execution the several Laws against printing scandalous and unlicensed Books, and for the better Regulation of the Press. Of these we have already given an Abstract in the Course of this Work ; we shall therefore only observe that, by the Ordinance now before us, no Books of News, Occurrences, or the like, were to be hereafter printed, but by the Command or License of the Lord-Protector or his Council, or the Secretary of State. So that the Public were to know nothing of what was doing, unless by the Grace and Favour of his Highness.

A Review of the
most considerable
Events in the
Year 1655.

As it has been our Custom, throughout the whole Course of this Work, to connect the History of the Times with the Proceedings of Parliament, we shall mention the most remarkable foreign Occurrences that happened this Year. And first,

The Duke of *Savoy's* Persecution of the Protestants in *Piedmont*, who applied to *Cromwell* for Relief, furnished him with an Opportunity of setting up himself as the Protector of the Reformed Religion abroad ; nor was he wanting to improve an Incident so correspondent with his ambitious Designs, and so conducive to advance his Reputation in *Europe* ; for, upon the first Notice of the Distresses of these poor People, he issued out a Proclamation for the Observance of a General Fast, to implore the Blessing of the Almighty upon their Cause ; ordered Collections to be made, throughout the Nation, for their Relief, which amounted to

above

above 100,000 *l. Sterl.* and interested himself so far in their Behalf, as to prevail upon the *French* King to procure an Accommodation betwixt them and their Sovereign, who had refused to admit of *Cromwell's* own Mediation. ^r

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Other remarkable Incidents were the unsuccessful Attempt of the *English* upon *Hispaniola*, for which Admiral *Penn* and General *Venables* were committed Prisoners to the *Tower*; though, before their Return home, they made the Conquest of the Island of *Jamaica* from the *Spaniards*, which has ever since continued (and long may it continue) a Fief to the Crown of *Great-Britain* ^s.

Soon after Admiral *Blake* bombarded *Tunis* in the *Mediterranean*, and compell'd the Dey to submit to a Treaty for releasing the *English* Captives.

Next followed a Declaration of War with *Spain*, and a Treaty of Peace with *France*, which was, perhaps, the greatest Oversight in Politics *Cromwell* was ever guilty of, with respect to the Tranquility of *Europe*; since it proved one principal Means of advancing the Power of *France* to that Greatness it has since arriv'd at.

But leaving these Foreign Affairs, the bare Mention whereof is sufficient for our Purpose, since they are so amply discussed by the General Historians; we shall look into a Matter of a Domestic Nature, that happened the latter End of this Year, which has been wholly passed over by some Writers, and grossly misrepresented by others, though it gave the greatest Alarm to the whole Nation. This was a Treaty between *Cromwell* and the *Jews*, who applied

^r The whole Narrative of this Affair was published by *Cromwell's* Order, under the following Title, *A Collection of the several Papers sent to His Highness the Lord-Protector, concerning the bloody and barbarous Massacres, Murders, and other Cruelties, committed on many thousands of the Reform'd, or Protestants, dwelling in the Valleys of Piedmont, by the Duke of Savoy's Forces, join'd therein with the French Army, and several Irish Regiments.*

^s The Occasion of the Disappointment at *Hispaniola*, and the taking of *Jamaica*, are amply related in two Letters from General *Venables* to General *Montague*, afterwards Earl of *Sandwich*, printed in Mr. *Croft's* Collections, Vol. VII. p. 46. et seq.

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applied for Leave to settle in his Dominions.—
We shall first give the Account of this Affair, as published by Authority; and then add such further Particulars as our *Collections* afford us upon the Subject.

The Narrative, published by Order of *Cromwell* and his Council, was in *hæc Verba*: ^a

Whitehall, December 4.

‘ Divers eminent Ministers of the Nation, having been called hither by Letter from the Lord-Protektor, were present with his Highness and the Council in the Council-Chamber; when the following Proposals, made by certain *Jews*, of whom Rabbi *Manasseh Ben Israel*, of *Amsterdam*, was the Chief, were read to them.

The *Jews* apply
to the Lord-Pro-
tektor for Leave
to settle in his
Dominions;

‘ THESE are the Graces and Favours which, in the Name of my *Hebrew Nation*, I *Manasseh Ben Israel* do request of your Most Serene Highness, whom God make prosperous, and give happy Success to, in all your Enterprises, as your humble Servant doth wish and desire.

1. ‘ The first Thing I desire of your Highness is, That our *Hebrew Nation* may be received and admitted into this puissant Commonwealth, under the Protection and Safeguard of your Highness even as the Natives themselves. And, for greater Security in Time to come, I do supplicate your Highness to cause an Oath to be given (if you shall think it fit) to all the Heads and Generals of Arms to defend us upon all Occasions.

2. ‘ That it will please your Highness to allow us public Synagogues, not only in *England*, but also in all other Places under the Power of your Highness; and to observe in all Things our Religion, as we ought.

3. ‘ That we may have a Place, or Cœmtery, out of the Town to bury our Dead, without being troubled by any.

4. ‘ That

^a Printed by *Herry Hills*, Printer to his Highness the Lord-Protektor.

4. ' That we may be permitted to traffic freely
' in all Sorts of Merchandise, as others.

5. ' That (to the end those who shall come
' may be for the Utility of the People of this Na-
' tion, and may live without bringing Prejudice to
' any, and not give Offence) your Most Serene
' Highness will make Choice of a Person of Qua-
' lity, to inform himself of and receive the Pass-
' ports of those who shall come in; who, upon their
' Arrival, shall certify him thereof, and oblige
' themselves, by Oath, to maintain Fealty to your
' Highness in this Land.

6. ' And (to the Intent they may not be trou-
' blesome to the Judges of the Land, touching the
' Contests and Differences that may arise betwixt
' those of our Nation) that your Most Serene High-
' ness will give Licence to the Head of the Syna-
' gogue, to take with him two Almoners of his
' Nation to accord and determine all the Differen-
' ces and Process, conformable to the *Mosaic Law*;
' with Liberty, nevertheless, to appeal from their
' Sentence to the Civil Judges; the Sum wherein
' the Parties shall be condemned, being first de-
' posited.

7. ' That in case there have been any Laws a-
' gainst our *Jewish* Nation, they may, in the first
' Place and before all Things, be revoked; to the
' end that, by this Means, we may remain with
' the greater Security under the Safeguard and Pro-
' tection of your Most Serene Highness.

' Which Things your Most Serene Highness
' granting to us, we shall always remain most af-
' fectionately obliged to pray to God for the Pro-
' sperity of your Highness, and of our illustrious
' and sage Council, that it will please him to give
' happy Success to all the Undertakings of your
' Most Serene Highness. *Amen.*

' The Ministers having heard these Proposals
read, desired Time to consider of them, and the
next Day was spent in Prayer and Fasting.

' *Dec.*

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' Dec. 7. 'This Day, in the Afternoon, a Conference was held with the Ministers about these Proposals, in the Presence of his Highness the Lord-Protector, the Lord-President *Laurence*, Lord *Lambert*, Lord *Fiennes*, and divers more of the Council, with the Lord Chief Justice *Glynn*, and the Lord Chief Baron *Steel*. Of the Ministers there were Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, Dr. *Wilkinson*, Dr. *Tuckney*, Mr. *Manton*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Bridge*, and many others; but nothing being concluded on, another Conference was appointed to be held on the next *Wednesday*. Accordingly,

' Dec. 12. The Conference was renewed in a Withdrawing-Room in the Presence of the Lord-Protector, where a Committee of the Council were met by the greatest Part of the Ministers and other Persons, approved by his Highness to take the said Proposals into Consideration; but nothing then resolved upon.

' Dec. 14. There was another Conference on the same Subject. And,

' Dec. 18. The Committee broke up without coming to any Resolution or even a further Adjournment.'

The Narrative concludes with this Remark, ' That his Highness, at these several Meetings, fully heard the Opinions of the Ministers touching the said Proposals; expressing himself thereupon with Indifference and Moderation, as one that desired only to obtain Satisfaction in a Matter of so high and religious a Concernment; there being many glorious Promises recorded in Holy Scripture, concerning the Calling and Conversion of the *Jews* to the Faith of *Christ*: But the Reason why nothing was concluded upon was, because his Highness proceeded in this, as in all other Affairs, with good Advice and mature Deliberation.'

Which Proposal
proves abortive.

Thus far by Authority.—

We shall next proceed to inquire how this Proposal was received by the Public: The indefatigable

gale and resolute Mr. *Prynne* published a very zealous Remonstrance against it^a: The Aim of which was to shew, That the permitting the *Jews* to reside in *England*, according to the foregoing Proposals, was highly criminal; as being the greatest Affront offered to the Son of God, the Author of our Redemption, that any *Christian* Government could be guilty of: That for *Cromwell* to grant the *Jews* the public Exercise of their Religion, when he and his Council had so lately passed an Ordinance prohibiting Thousands of *Christian* Ministers from preaching the Gospel, for no other Reason than their having formerly adhered to the Royal Party, was, in the highest Degree, both unreasonable and unjust: That the Argument urged for Admission of the *Jews* upon a Hope of their being converted to *Christianity* by their Residence in *England*, was a meer Pretence to cover another Design, that of bringing a large Sum of Money into the Protector's Coffers: In short, our Author does not scruple to compare this intended Bargain with the execrable Proposal made by *Simon Magus* to the Apostles.

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Cromwell's View in the before-mentioned Expedition against *Hispaniola*, seems to have been founded upon the pleasing Prospect of gaining so vast a Plunder from the *Spaniards*, as to be able, for the future, to govern without Parliaments; and his Failure in that Attempt induced him to give Audience to the *Jewish* Deputies, who, as some Contemporaries write^b, offered him 200,000*l.* to carry

^a The Title Page of this elaborate Performance runs thus: *A short Demurrer to the Jews long discontinued Remitter into England: Comprising an exact Chronological Relation of their first Admission into, their ill Deportment, Misdeemeanors, Condemns, Sufferings, Oppressions, Sluggishness, Plunders, by popular Injurerections, and legal Exactions in, and their total, final Banishment, by Judgment and Edict of Parliament, out of England, never to return again. Collected out of the best Historians. With a brief Collection of such English Laws and Statutes, as seem directly to shew and conclude against their Readmission into England, especially at this Season, and against the general Calling of the Jewish Nation, to be an answer to the chief Allegations for their Introduction.*

^b *The perfect Politician*, p. 282, 291. — *Heath's Magellum*, p. 167.

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carry their Proposals into Execution. But the Ministers appointed to attend at the Conference held in the Council Chamber on that Occasion, dissenting from the Protector's Project, and finding himself daily attack'd by Pasquinades from the Press, he thought it prudent to desist from this *Rabbinical* Treaty.

From the foregoing Incident two *French* Authors ^c have taken Occasion to dress up a very entertaining Story.—These ingenious Gentlemen tell us, That the *Jews* in *Asia* having heard of the great Fame of *Cromwell*, began to imagine he might be their long-expected Messiah; and, for this Purpose, sent over a Deputation from an Assembly of their principal Rabbies and Merchants, to solicit a Toleration of their Religion in *England*, and to make Proposals for the Improvement of the *British* Trade and Commerce: That thereupon, soon after their Arrival, they were admitted to a private Audience of *Cromwell* for that Purpose, at which they express'd a Desire to purchase all the Manuscripts belonging to the University of *Cambridge*; which he agreeing to, they went down there accordingly; but that their principal Intention in this Proposal was, in their Return, to inquire at *Huntingdon*, the Place of *Cromwell's* Nativity, whether it could be made appear by his Pedigree, that any of his Ancestors were descended from *Jewish* Parents: That this Inquiry getting Air, he sent for the *Jewish* Deputies, to whom he declared he would neither sell them the Manuscripts at *Cambridge*, nor suffer the Enemies of a crucified God, whom he and his People ador'd, to reside in his Dominions; and thereupon ordered them to be gone immediately.—We shall take our Leave of this Romantic Story, with observing how cautious we ought to be in reading the Histories of our own Nation written by Foreigners.

1656.

^c *La Vie de Cromwell*, par Roquenst, 4^{to}. Paris, 1691, p. 322.
 —————, par Gregorio Leti, Tom. 2. p. 409.

1656.

Nothing occurs worth our Notice this Year till *July*; on the 10th of which Month Writs were sealed and sent out, by Order of the Lord Protector in Council, for calling a new Parliament.

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A new Parliament call'd.

In *August* the Elections were made throughout the three Nations.

On the 3d of *September* a Thanksgiving Day was observ'd by *Cromwell* and his Council, for the great Victories of *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, obtained on that Day, in the Years 1650, and 1651.

On the 9th a Proclamation was issued, requiring all Cavaliers and suspected Persons to leave *London*, and all Places within twenty Miles thereof, in three Days Time. And,

On the 17th the new Parliament met at *Westminster*; the Members whereof were as complainant to *Cromwell* as those of the last had been refractory; for they not only confirm'd his Title of Lord-Protector, but even made him a formal Tender of the Crown. The Proceedings of this Assembly will begin our next Volume.

The END of the TWENTIETH VOLUME.

E R R A T A.

In Vol. XIX. Page 170, Line 11, after *London*, add *or an Inquisition after the lost Fundamental Laws and Liberties of England*.
P. 493, L. 34, for *Highb Commission Court*, read *Highb Court of Justice*.

In Vol. XX. P. 349, L. 8, after *Parliament*, add *on the 11th*.
P. 433, L. ult. for *Lord-President*, read *Majer-General*.

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